United Nations S/PV.4403

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4403rd meeting

Wednesday, 31 October 2001, 10.45 a.m.

New York

President	Mr. Cowen	(Ireland)
Members	Bangladesh	Mr. Ahsan
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Mauritius	Mr. Latona
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation in East Timor

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (S/2001/983 and Corr.1).

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01-61142 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in East Timor

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (S/2001/983 and Corr.1)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Fiji, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, Mozambique, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Portugal, the Republic of Korea and Thailand in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Dauth (Australia), Mr. de Ruyt (Belgium), Mr. Fonseca (Brazil), Mr. Serbini (Brunei Darussalam), Mr. Ouch Borith (Cambodia), Mr. Naidu (Fiji), Mr. Thayeb (Indonesia), Mr. Akasaka (Japan), Mr. Hasmy (Malaysia), Mr. Navarrete (Mexico), Mr. Dos Santos (Mozambique), Mr. MacKay (New Zealand), Mr. Donigi (Papua New Guinea), Mr. Manalo (Philippines), Mr. Seixas da Costa (Portugal), Mr. Sun Joun-yung (Republic of Korea), and Mr. Kasemsarn (Thailand) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative and Transitional Administrator for East Timor.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Vieira de Mello to take a seat at the Council table.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Mari Alkatiri, Chief Minister of the Second Transitional Government of East Timor.

It is so decided.

I invite Mr. Alkatiri to take a seat at the Council table.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Mats Karlsson, Vice President, External Affairs and United Nations Affairs, of the World Bank.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Karlsson to take a seat at the Council table.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Zephirin Diabre, Associate Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Diabre to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor, document S/2001/983 and Corr.1.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to a letter dated 30 October 2001 from the Secretary-General transmitting a letter from the Speaker of the Constituent Assembly of East Timor,

photocopies of which are before the members of the Council.

At this meeting the Security Council will hear a briefing from Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative and Transitional Administrator for East Timor. I now give the floor to Mr. Vieira de Mello.

Mr. Vieira de Mello: Though it is only three months since I last had the opportunity of briefing the Council, I do so now against the backdrop of a radically different situation in East Timor. These past weeks have witnessed the most exciting qualitative leap forward in the process that the Council tasked the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) — exactly two years ago — with performing: devolving authority onto what will ultimately be the fully independent State of East Timor.

My briefing today will not repeat the contents of the Secretary-General's report but, rather, provide some more intimate commentary to the recommendations made therein. In particular, I intend to devote some time to the outline of our plans for a successor mission to UNTAET, which we consider necessary to ensure that East Timor's full independence is more of a political reality and not, in effect, a merely ceremonial event.

Needless to say, it is our hope that the Council will agree with us that what we put forward today and what members have read in the Secretary-General's report do indeed constitute the best possible approach: modest, focused, practical and, above all, necessary.

Before I begin my briefing proper, allow me to say how truly pleased we are that today's meeting is being presided over by such a distinguished President, Foreign Minister Cowen of the Republic of Ireland, a nation whose people and Government have been particularly stalwart friends of East Timor over the years. Thank you, Minister, for honouring East Timor and UNTAET through your presence here today.

Finally, I would like to introduce several of my close partners who have been integral in bringing us to where we are today. Sitting beside me is Mr. Mari Alkatiri, who, as members know, is Chief Minister of the Council of Ministers of the Second Transitional Government of East Timor. He is also the Secretary-General of FRETILIN, which won the largest number of votes in the election of 30 August. Mr. Alkatiri is a busy man; his other portfolios include Economy and Development, as well as Timor Sea petroleum issues, in addition to his responsibilities as a member of the Constituent Assembly. Also with us is Ms. Fernanda Borges, the new Minister for Finance and an independent member of Government, as well as Mr. Fernando de Araújo, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation and leader of the Partido Democrático, which came in second in the ballot.

Contrary to the views of the many naysayers, the election campaign and polling day, as well as the days leading up to the announcement of the results, proceeded as we knew they would: in a remarkably peaceful and dignified fashion. It was a process widely praised by outside observers, including by this Council.

As the Council knows, on 15 September the 88-member Constituent Assembly was sworn in, while on 20 September the new all-East Timorese Cabinet, now called the Council of Ministers, was formally established.

The creation of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly and the formation of an executive branch that, by and large, reflects the vote is an event of enormous significance for East Timor. Never before has East Timor been afforded this most basic of rights: the ability of its people to select for themselves who should govern them. This marks the most decisive move yet forward towards full independence.

At this stage, UNTAET is, quite clearly, a mission in support of the Government. Within the parameters laid out in resolutions 1272 (1999) and 1338 (2001), and the powers assigned therein to UNTAET, all administrative decisions are now taken by the East Timorese themselves. This is in line with our stated goal of using the period from the election to independence to have a trial run, so to speak, in which effective responsibility lies with a national Government that will hopefully maintain its composition after independence, but with UNTAET continuing to provide the closest possible support, guidance and partnership.

The Secretary-General, in the letter he addressed to the President yesterday, informed the Council that, on 19 October, the Constituent Assembly voted overwhelmingly to recommend to the Secretary-General 20 May 2002 as the date of independence for East Timor. This date, if approved by the Council, would see the end of the transitional administration and the transfer of executive, legislative and judicial

authority to the constitutionally mandated institutions of East Timor. In other words, should the Council agree to this date, East Timor's long quest will be attained exactly 200 days from now. How these 200 days are used, both in preparing for that momentous occasion and also in preparing for what takes place afterwards, will have the most marked impact on how we remember the previous 24 months since the Council created UNTAET.

I mentioned a moment ago that with the devolution of power onto East Timorese institutions came the inevitable increase in responsibility as well. One of the more onerous aspects of this will be fitting the activities of the new Government within its limited means. As the Council knows, this has been a complicated and, yes, a frustrating and unpleasant task. Crafting a budget of some $65 million in a country with as many competing demands as East Timor has forced on us the cruellest of decisions.

These will become ever more apparent as the process of drawing down the number of international personnel in the East Timor Public Administration — a process that is already under way — begins to bite. This should not be surprising when we face an imminent situation in which the support provided by the current mission, with its budget roughly 10 times that of East Timor's national budget, will simply not be sustained after independence. Adjustments will be inevitable.

Our aim, in the time remaining before independence, is to minimize this negative impact and at the same time seek to ensure that those aspects of administration that are critical to the viability of the Government and stability of the new State are sufficiently ensured after the UNTAET mandate comes to an end, while also making certain that we are well placed to continue the critical tasks of assisting the East Timorese gradually to take over all line functions. A key component of our work in the time remaining is managing an organized, rational drawdown of UNTAET personnel in positions of public administration, in line with the figures presented in July by the Secretary-General in his last report to the Council. The 35 per cent target set for this October has been achieved, and that of 75 per cent will be attained by independence.

Three factors are critical in the management of this process. First, we need to avoid an unduly precipitous reduction in the calibre of delivery of Government services. Secondly, a minimum degree of continued support is required to ensure that the new Government does not falter. I will come to this in more detail later. Finally, we need a clear indication from the Council as to its concurrence on the nature of the successor mission that we are proposing.

Obtaining that will allow us to commence, in good time, the selection of personnel to help perform key functions. This will clearly be critical. I have noted before that one of the primary lessons for the United Nations to learn from a mission such as UNTAET is that we need to be able to select and recruit, more effectively and rapidly than is currently the case, individuals not only with the requisite skills for the jobs at hand, but also with the ability to transfer those skills to local capacity.

As proposed, the successor mission to UNTAET would focus on the security of the new nation. In the most basic sense of the word, security continues to provide little cause for concern. Border infiltrations have not occurred during this year's dry season — which, incidentally, is coming to an end — as a result of our robust response to last year's significant and murderous threat, while the Indonesian armed forces now provide more resolute action against hardcore militia in West Timor. As far as national crime rates are concerned, they would, I suspect, be the envy of many Governments.

On independence, maintaining internal security will continue to be the primary responsibility of international civilian police, though with the increasing involvement of the national Police Service that we are creating. More so than was the case with the Defence Force, the East Timorese police were at the forefront of ensuring security on polling day. They performed their potentially difficult duties in an outstanding manner, and their high visibility, good nature and professionalism — qualities not always found in more mature forces — lent lustre to an already brilliant day.

We are planning a reduction in the authorized strength of the civilian police component of some 25 per cent — that is, 400 police officers — between now and independence, for a total of 1,240 on that day. These will then be reduced in a phased manner as the East Timor Police Service acquires ever more operational capacity.

I shall confine my comments on the policing of independent East Timor to just two. First — and this is another of my hobby horses — we need to get absolutely right our approach to the deployment of international police officers so as to ensure that this most important of institutions is built on solid foundations. It is vital to the success of this element of the mission that we deploy only those officers who have the most appropriate qualifications.

Secondly, as indicated in the report, it is possible that the current target of a 3,000-strong East Timor Police Service is overly generous. If this is the case, and if it is decided through consultation with the Council of Ministers to reduce the overall ultimate size of the East Timor Police Service, it would obviously have beneficial consequences in terms of cost and speed of full deployment.

Until the East Timorese can assume full responsibility for the maintenance of their internal security through a non-corrupt and effective police force, it will be very difficult for the international community to abdicate its responsibilities in this area. However time consuming and expensive our obligation in this regard, it would be the most false of economies to prematurely call the job done.

By independence we also propose that the United Nations military component should number some 5,000 personnel, a reduction of roughly 44 per cent from the current authorized strength. Their purpose will be to continue to ensure effective border security pending the full establishment and training of the East Timor Defence Force and while there continues to be growing illegal trading and other forms of criminality on the border and grounds for believing that residue armed militia in West Timor retain the determination to cross into East Timor and inflict harm — despite, as I mentioned earlier, a welcome increase in Indonesian enforcement action.

The East Timor Defence Force has now been moved to its new training centre, which has been fully functional since last June. The first battalion has been formally raised, following the completion of its basic training, and is on its way to operational tasking. In a significant, though little noted, development, I ordered that a small contingent of East Timorese soldiers be on active duty throughout the country through the final weeks of election campaigning and for the day of the elections. Though the men were small in number, the impact of the sight of them provided a significant reassurance to the people of East Timor. They were a source of pride on that day, as well as of optimism that East Timor would have at its disposal a small but effective apolitical armed force.

The first East Timor Defence Force battalion will be deployed to the eastern sector of East Timor early next year once the area has been vacated by United Nations peacekeepers, and will be ready for operational tasking in June. Under the current schedule, the second battalion will not be operational until late 2003, while the whole force will not be free-standing until mid-2004. Donors thus may wish to consider accelerating their capital funding of this exercise to allow for a quicker final withdrawal of international military forces from East Timor. I am acutely aware that military costs present the most sizeable portion of the expenses of any United Nations mission.

While a competent military force is one means of providing a degree of security, more effective still is the realization of sensible bilateral relations based on mutual respect and an identification of common interests. This is what the East Timorese leadership, with the assistance of UNTAET, has been seeking with Indonesia. On 12 September Mari Alkatiri, José Ramos-Horta, Xanana Gusmão and I met with the new President of Indonesia, Ms. Megawati Soekarnoputri, as well as with her Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs and her Foreign Minister. The meeting set the tone for what I hope will be a reinvigorated and increasingly harmonious period in the development of relations between the two neighbours. This should be cemented in the coming weeks and months with a series of meetings on a broad range of issues of mutual interest. We are also working towards holding a further high-level discussion next January, at which it is our hope to clear the books of a number of these issues.

Nearly two weeks ago, in follow-up to the meeting with the Indonesian President, my Deputy visited Jakarta for discussions focusing exclusively on justice issues. While the new Attorney-General has responded favourably to our proposal for monthly working-level meetings, with a view to moving forward the many outstanding and complicated cases of serious crimes involving both Indonesia and East Timor — including by judicial cooperation and the support we will continue to extend to the new ad hoc human rights tribunal that President Megawati has

decided to establish, with a view to taking to court the first group of suspects identified last year by the then Attorney-General — much still needs to be achieved in this area.

The events that I have described are positive developments that I warmly welcome. However, if we are to prove the cynics wrong, let us be clear that real progress can only come with concrete action. There are still far too many outstanding issues affecting both sides of the border that require resolution. These include, to name but a few, cooperation in the investigation and bringing to justice perpetrators of serious crimes in East Timor; cross-border issues, including the formal demarcation of the border; bringing closure to the question of pensions for former Indonesian civil servants, on which significant progress has been achieved; and ensuring adequate land access between contiguous East Timor and the enclave of Oecussi. We need to use the coming 200 days to push for answers to as many of these as possible prior to independence.

Progress has also been made in encouraging refugee returns and working to isolate the unrepentant, permanently embittered militia hardcore. October saw the highest monthly return — 3,233 refugees — since March 2000, bringing to 188,646 the total number of returns since September 1999. A number of factors perhaps contributed to this welcome development, among them the peaceful holding of the elections, greater cooperation with the Indonesian authorities and the reconciliation process being driven by the East Timor leadership, with our full support, in particular through the sustained involvement of my own Chief of Staff. We anticipate further returns before the full onset of the rains and the Christmas period, and must continue in our efforts to find a quick solution to the far too prolonged misery of the many thousands of refugees who continue to live in fear and poverty in West Timor.

In order to reinforce current peace and stability, it is essential that both the demands for justice and the need for reconciliation are addressed in a mutually supportive manner. Together with Timorese partners, we continue to work on a variety of programmes focused on reconciliation, and early interventions designed to prevent past differences developing into communal violence. To date, violence flowing from the 1999 abuses has been remarkably minimal, although challenges may increase with the return of a more difficult refugee caseload in the coming months.

After broad consultations, a regulation establishing the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation was promulgated in July, and it is expected that the selection of regional and national Commissioners will be finalized by the first week in December.

The Commission will facilitate healing by allowing human rights victims, perpetrators and witnesses to give their personal accounts, which will be compiled into a report. The other main goal will be to offer perpetrators of less serious crimes the opportunity to enter into community-based plea-bargaining mechanisms, rather than the formal justice system.

These procedures will not, obviously, apply to murder, rape and other serious crimes, which will remain within the exclusive jurisdiction of the court system. The Commission will have a mandate of two years. It will cover the whole period from 25 April 1974 to 25 October 1999, and will be totally funded through voluntary contributions.

Finally, and most importantly, I wish to address the matter of what we — the East Timorese and the United Nations — hope will be the civilian elements of the successor mission. It will include the standard offices, such as political affairs and human rights that support the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in traditional operations and mission administration elements.

Let me, however, focus specifically on an area that may require more explanation than other components: our proposed structure for dealing with serious crimes committed in the course of the violence of 1999. The report of the Security Council Mission to East Timor and Indonesia, of November 2000, rightly pointed out the significant difficulties we were facing in dealing with serious crimes. Likewise, these concerns were reflected in the exhortation to deal effectively with this matter contained in Security Council resolution 1338 (2001).

We have taken these concerns seriously. Consequently, we are seeking to restructure our approach, bringing our handling of serious crimes more directly within the purview of my office. We are doing this not simply to ensure that this area is dealt with as effectively and efficiently as possible, but also to

reflect the distinctive international nature of the responsibility to deal with this matter.

To be sure, progress in this area has been made. As the Secretary-General's report indicates, 32 indictments have been issued, charging 62 individuals with crimes against humanity. New territory in jurisprudence is being explored with the first ever indictment for the crime of extermination being issued for crimes committed in the enclave of Oecussi. In other words, real progress can be made. The first indictments were issued much faster and at significantly less cost than was the case in either The Hague or Arusha. We should ensure that the process can be further cemented, and thus we have proposed this restructuring for a continued, assured presence in dealing with serious crimes, but at a reduced level and for a time-limited period.

Let me now turn to the proposed civilian support group. It does indeed bear repeating that UNTAET's mandate to establish a national civil administration, assist in the development of civil social services and support capacity-building was both unprecedented in scope and began following the near total destruction of East Timor. The two years since have seen much progress. However, the limited human resource base available and the fact that provincial East Timor under Indonesian rule lacked the institutions of a full-fledged State meant that it was impossible to create self-sufficient government structures in just two years.

In my last briefing to the Council, I mentioned that we could not simply walk away from the nascent government administration and put at risk the investment that the Member States have made so far. We are currently working with the Second Transitional Government to identify its human resource needs across all ministries, with the assistance of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). While the comprehensive results are not yet available, it is clear that up to 300 positions in total would be needed, with the majority in areas related to human development and poverty reduction, which will be funded through voluntary — either multilateral or bilateral — sources.

However, some areas of the administration are critical to the viability and political stability of the Government as a whole, and we must ensure that they are supported for a specific period of time through the assessed budget. As the Council knows, we have been studying this question since last March. A series of studies — the latest being the UNDP human resources assessment report just released — have made it clear that government stability will depend upon international expertise in the following areas: finance, legal and justice systems, essential infrastructural services and basic regulatory, administrative and central logistical and procurement systems. They are akin to the vital functions upon which the corpus of government depends. Any resulting failure of the public administration would, I believe, be the failure of the United Nations. These may be strong words, but it could not have been expected that a self-sustaining government could be established from the ground up in just two years.

Let us therefore finish the job. I can assure the Council that the Timorese do not want a needlessly protracted dependence on international support. Equally, I can confidently say that UNTAET, the East Timorese leadership, the civil service, United Nations agencies, the World Bank and others are all unanimously convinced of the serious risks accompanying a precipitous withdrawal of critical international support.

I therefore believe that it is a fair and — in relative terms — modest proposal that is made by the Secretary-General. A civilian support group of 100 or so experts out of the up to 300 that I mentioned earlier is all that has been requested to ensure a minimum degree of expertise in the critical areas I have just enumerated. The civilian support group would have within its mission plan the task to also train and hand over to Timorese staff as soon as possible.

I appreciate that elements of the successor mission are unprecedented, but this is natural, given the fact that so much of UNTAET's mandate was unprecedented.

In conclusion, we are well advanced in the planning for the successor mission. We will continue to keep you closely informed of our progress in finalizing and adding detail to these plans, a process that I am confident will gather steam in the coming weeks as the Second Transitional Government — which, you will recall, is only just over one month old — fully establishes itself.

It is said in some quarters that UNTAET stands on the verge of being a United Nations success. While it is flattering to hear this, Mr. President, Mr. Minister, it is a premature verdict, and certainly not one for me

to make, save that we stand a much greater chance of ensuring that this is the case if — paraphrasing a recent Council debate — we allow UNTAET to exit with a strategy. That strategy is, I would strongly suggest, what has been presented to you by the Secretary-General.

In other words, while the current phase on which we are embarked may be nearing completion with the approach of independence, the job we have all set out to do is not yet done. We need to ensure that our combined and truly inspiring investment in East Timor to date is fully realized as a fitting and deserved reward for both the East Timorese — for the courage and determination they have shown over the years — and for our Organization, the United Nations, for the commitment it has shown to this most noble task.

The President: I wish to thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for his comprehensive briefing and his kind words addressed to me, which I appreciate.

As there is no list of speakers for this meeting, I invite Council members who wish to take the floor to so indicate to the secretariat as from now.

I now give the floor to Mr. Mari Alkatiri, Chief Minister of the Second Transitional Government of East Timor.

Mr. Alkatiri: Allow me to address my very first words to the United Nations Organization and to Secretary-General Kofi Annan and to present, on behalf of the Second Transitional Government of East Timor, our wholehearted congratulations on being awarded the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize.

The awarding of this prestigious prize is the acknowledgement of the new role that the United Nations decided to take up and of the reformist stance taken by Secretary-General Annan since 1997. Despite the original aims in establishing this Organization — to prevent war and consolidate world peace — we all know that in the past, wrong political decisions were made and a huge price in human lives has been paid.

The responsibility borne by the United Nations in some countries with peace missions — for example, in East Timor — demands a careful and unbiased look into the past so as to avoid repetition of the same mistakes. We believe in and share the United Nations ideals and the sense of justice of its Member States. For this reason, for over two decades we have tenaciously worked with the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Decolonization Committee and the Human Rights Commission.

During the 24 years of illegal Indonesian occupation, and despite Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, genocide was perpetrated in East Timor, resulting in the loss of more than 200,000 lives. However, after this sad and most unfortunate time of our history, including 1999, the Security Council did hear the cries of the children, mothers, men, women and elderly of our country.

As an East Timorese, I am pleased to recall that in 1997, when Kofi Annan became Secretary-General, a new impetus was given to the quest for a just, peaceful and lasting solution for the East Timorese cause. The courage of our people, together with the total commitment of the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) to the United Nations ideals and high standard of professionalism, was a formula that led to success.

The 30 August 1999 referendum was an act of self-determination, with overwhelming participation by our people that went far beyond the expectations of the international community. In our view, this act of self-determination is the democratic foundation that will henceforth configure our independence. In its commitment to this democratic founding act, the United Nations has committed itself to building the democratic institutions and processes that the people of East Timor have also honoured and have been committed to at all stages.

The outcome of the referendum speaks for itself, and as a result the people of East Timor have expressed their clear wish to begin a transition process towards independence under the authority of the United Nations. The brutal destruction of property and loss of human life that followed the announcements of the referendum's results necessitated a military intervention by the International Force in East Timor (INTERFET) to enforce security and avert a threat to peace and security.

The Security Council adopted resolution 1272 (1999), which established the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and, in an act without precedent, endowed the United Nations with the overall responsibility for the administration of East Timor. This mandate gave extensive authority to the Transitional Administration to act as the government of East Timor with all the

powers to exercise legislative and executive authority, including the administration of justice.

At that time, our dear friend the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Sergio Vieira de Mello, was handed the Herculean task of establishing a government from scratch. The mandate of UNTAET was indeed comprehensive and consisted essentially of elements that included peacekeeping, establishing an effective administration, supporting capacity-building for self-governance, and the development of democratic institutions.

Despite the achievements of UNTAET to date, its mandate is yet to be fully accomplished. The building of critical institutions for the new State, capacity-building and functional preparedness of the East Timorese are ultimate goals that are still to be achieved.

For the people of East Timor, the priority is to continue the process of institution-building in order for UNTAET to effectively and systematically transfer its administrative functions to an independent East Timorese Government. The smooth and gradual transfer of these administrative functions will ensure that the United Nations is continuing in an indirect way to foster and fortify peace-building and stability — something we, the East Timorese, cherish and believe the Security Council itself upholds. To this end, we would request that the Security Council maintain as far as possible the current United Nations civilian staffing component until the end of the transition and enter into dialogue with our Government before the end of the Transitional Administration on the post-independence staffing component.

It will be recalled that, following the 30 August 2001 elections, the United Nations took the decisive and progressive step of setting up the legislative and executive arms of the State through the swearing in of members of the Constituent Assembly and the appointment of the members of the Council of Ministers. Within the next 60 days, we expect the Constituent Assembly of East Timor to complete the drafting of the country's constitution.

At this juncture, it is my greatest pleasure to announce to this body that the Constituent Assembly of East Timor has reached a consensus to recommend that the date of independence be 20 May 2002.

The people of East Timor consider that success can be achieved only if the viability of the State of East Timor is guaranteed well beyond UNTAET's existing mandate. It is for this reason, among other, poignant ones, that we consider it of utmost importance that this Council pays special attention to institution-building and the gradual transfer of administrative functions to our civil servants under phased and flexible arrangements. Accordingly, we request the Security Council to provide us with the necessary human, material and financial resources, which will demonstrate the success of the United Nations and the international community. This success should translate into the entrenchment of the democratic State, with all the requisite and functional institutions that will ensure the prevalence of the rule of law.

We are certain that this success will be sustainable only if the United Nations guarantees assistance through its mandatory assessed contributions to continue to support critical civilian posts in the follow-on mission. We have assessed the experience of other countries in similar positions that have tried to tap bilateral and multilateral sources to fund critical government functions and have found that they have not been successful, as these are not the traditional areas that donors are attracted to fund.

That is not to say that we will not pursue bilateral, multilateral and other United Nations specialized agencies to assist in meeting our needs for a functioning Government. We have just made a comprehensive submission to the Government of Portugal to assist in providing technical assistance personnel to fill some of the positions earmarked for bilateral assistance.

Our country's financial resources are presently inadequate to cover the costs of contracting experts to assist in the critical areas. The World Bank agrees with us that the use of the limited financial resources of the Trust Fund for East Timor and the Consolidated Fund for East Timor for that purpose would be to the detriment of education, health and other reconstruction and development sectors, which cannot in themselves be wholly funded from our own resources for the time being.

I would also like to take this opportunity to inform the Council that the recurrent budget of East Timor of $65 million remains to be funded. In order for the new Second Transitional Government to

successfully carry out its function and programmes, we will require donors to quickly meet the financing gap. In Oslo, we will be looking for the strong commitment of donors to not only pledge, but also make good their contributions as early as January to obviate liquidity constraints that could cripple and destabilize the Government.

The United Nations Development Programme has completed its first draft of a needs assessment study for personnel requirements for an independent East Timor Government. This report is a good starting point and can be used as the basis for discussion in the coming weeks. The Council of Ministers will require time to review the numbers and needs in order to be able to clearly articulate and fine-tune the Government's needs.

I would take this opportunity to reiterate to the members of the Council that East Timor has always sought to maintain the presence of civilian personnel in the post-UNTAET period. This is reflected in some of the words spoken by my brother Xanana Gusmão, national leader of our country, during his address to this body on 18 May during the Council's special meeting on East Timor. The success of the Mission is the success of the international community, given that it fully reflects the international community. Together we can uphold the values of peace, justice, democracy, human rights and abidance by international law.

It will be recalled that our country's infrastructures and other assets were completely destroyed after the August referendum. The nature of the UNTAET mandate has necessitated that, in order to function as a Government, the United Nations have its human resources, assets and communications systems in place. Consequently, this has meant that the Second Transitional Government is presently heavily reliant on the assets of the United Nations to function effectively and efficiently and will need time and the necessary financial resources to disentangle itself from the web of dependence. We are currently attempting to address this issue through the UNTAET core transition group, but we would wish to use this unique opportunity to request the United Nations to continue to maintain its support structures and capital equipment until the independent Government is able to replace them with its own. In order not to cripple the operations of the Government, the people of East Timor would urge the Security Council to recognize the need to maintain these support structures and critical assets in place for the independent Government.

I wish to also underscore the mission carried out by the peacekeeping force throughout this mandate. The peacekeeping force in East Timor has gained the respect and admiration of our people for the professional and committed way it has been carrying out its mission. We wish to publicly commend the force for the secure environment it has fostered in our country. The downsizing of the force is understandable and we support it at this point. However, it is our fervent belief that the Government of East Timor and, in particular, the Commander of our Defence Force, Brigadier General Taur Matan Ruak, should be given the opportunity to actively contribute to the debate on the downsizing of the peacekeeping force.

The Second Transitional Government is also preoccupied with the reconciliation process and the return of refugees from Indonesia. We maintain that reconciliation is an important component of the healing process that our people will need to go through. We are also clear that reconciliation without justice will not be meaningful and in this context fully support the maintenance of a Serious Crimes Unit funded by assessed contributions.

Over the past 12 months, we have seen a steady increase in the number of refugees returning to the country. This effort has been strongly led by Mr. Xanana Gusmão and fully supported by UNTAET and the Second Transitional Government. All efforts will be made to continue to encourage the returnees and to resettle them in the country so that they, too, can enjoy the tranquillity of being in their homeland.

We were also heartened and pleased by the positive reaction of the President of Indonesia, Mrs. Megawati Sukarnoputri, to the reconciliation process when the East Timorese delegation and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General visited Indonesia last September. We are hopeful that the strong interest in re-establishing good relations based on mutual respect between our two countries will be quickly cemented.

The members of the Council may be asking themselves how all this assistance is going to affect East Timor's use of the assessed contributions fund. We East Timorese are counting on this source of funds to consolidate the peacekeeping process and at the

same time to create the necessary conditions for peace-building.

On the socio-economic front, the Council would agree that the viability of any State depends to a great extent on the sustainability of the development of the productive sectors of its economy. Cognizant of this, the Government of East Timor is currently embarking on the creation of an enabling environment to address land issues and the investment and corporate laws required to foster development in this area. The drafters of the Constitution are presently addressing the land-tenure issues and the Council of Minister's is reviewing the legislation on investment, micro-credit banks and corporate laws.

The newly appointed Council of Ministers is conscious of the high level of unemployment in East Timor. Anecdotal evidence suggests an unemployment rate as high as 80 per cent. It is critical that we create the necessary conditions to stimulate domestic private-sector activity and attract sound foreign investment to assist in the generation of employment and development.

The focus of the Government is on the areas of education, health, housing and infrastructure policies to guarantee social and political stability in East Timor. However, the independent Government will be able to deliver on this only if it has strong, efficient and transparent institutions. As a young nation, we will endeavour to diversify our revenue base and to avoid over-dependency on the potential revenues derivable from our stock of non-renewable natural resources. We recognize that there is a need to be prudent on the use of these funds and are now studying the appropriate investment and saving strategy for the Timor Sea revenues so that these funds are spent to develop other income-producing resources. As the lead negotiator on the Timor Sea, I and the people of East Timor are grateful for the tremendous support provided by the United Nations in the treaty negotiations pertaining to the Timor Sea resources.

I am pleased to inform the Council that the Second Transitional Government, since taking office, has established the Planning Commission, the role of which is to develop a framework for a national development plan that will later be translated into a blueprint. The Government, civic society, youth and women are part of this all-inclusive process. This development plan will be designed to contain macroeconomic variables and strategies aimed at alleviating poverty and improving the well-being of society. In this regard, we will be seeking the assistance of multilateral financial institutions, particularly the World Bank, and our bilateral partners in the design and funding of this development plan.

Allow me to mention our potential fishing resources. I wish to draw attention to this matter not only because of the economic perspective, but also because of the political implications of defining our maritime borders and hence our sovereignty. Surveillance of our territorial waters is a prerequisite, especially when East Timor's exclusive economic zone is defined. To this end, a naval component of our East Timor Defence Force is currently being established, and we request assistance from the United Nations and our development partners.

Although we address the Council today with a clear appeal to continue to provide the assistance and support given to East Timor, we fully recognize the responsibility that falls upon the East Timorese. We are conscious of our role as a Government to build the capacity to become self-reliant in our quest for economic independence.

East Timor will soon be part of the community of nations and a Member of this unique international Organization. As a responsible member of the international community, East Timor will join the nations of the world in the struggle against all forms of terrorism. No one can be indifferent to terrorist acts, such as the barbaric acts of 11 September. We assure the Council that our country will stand with all peace-loving countries and join in the efforts to put an end to individuals, groups or organizations that organize or sponsor terrorist activities.

In conclusion, allow me again to express our special, heartfelt feelings of appreciation for the opportunity to address the Council. Twenty-seven years ago my colleagues and I came to the United Nations for the first time to ask for the support of the international community to oppose the illegal invasion and occupation of our homeland, as a gross violation of international law. Today we address the Council as the East Timorese Transitional Government, established in the aftermath of the first free and democratic elections in East Timor.

We acknowledge that in 24 years of resistance it was difficult to liberate our people from the illegal

occupation, but now the challenge of governing the country and addressing the problems of poverty, disease, education and health is even more difficult. For this reason, our people still count on and deserve the Council's continued support.

We have no doubt that had it not been for the courage and resilience of our people in resisting the illegal occupation, and later the joint role played by the international community in restoring international law and assisting the reconstruction of our country, we would not have the honour of sharing these special moments with the Council.

On behalf of our people and the Second Transitional Government of East Timor, I extend our invitation to you, Mr. President and the other members of the Council, to join us on 20 May 2002 for our independence day celebration in our humble country, East Timor. We look forward to seeing you all there to share this special day with us.

The President: Thank you, indeed, Mr. Alkatiri for those excellent remarks. We wish you well.

I now give the floor to Mr. Mats Karlsson.

Mr. Karlsson: I am very pleased to have this opportunity to address the Security Council on behalf of the World Bank. This is the second time this year that the World Bank has participated in a Security Council discussion on the future of East Timor, underscoring the close collaboration of our respective institutions. I would like to express our sincere thanks to the President of the Security Council for his gracious invitation. I would also like to note our appreciation for the report of the Secretary-General, the briefing by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and in particular, of course, the substantive contribution of the Chief Minister of the Transitional Government. The United Nations and the Secretary-General have played an unprecedented role in paving the way for East Timor to become an independent, sovereign nation in the near future. We are very proud to have been associated with this process.

We all recognize that East Timor is at a turning point. With general elections peacefully concluded, a Second Transitional Government in place and the momentum for independence gathering, the newly established Administration faces many formidable challenges. The greatest of these, undoubtedly, is that of governing a new country with very limited human resources. We duly acknowledge the substantial efforts made, by United Nations agencies in particular, to build institutional capacity in East Timor, a process that has accelerated substantially in the past year. We also recognize that capacity-building will be a long-term process. The transfer of technical and managerial skills to East Timorese must therefore follow a strategic approach, with the coordinated support of multiple donor organizations. However, there are immediate skill needs that require to be filled, without which there is a risk of Government collapse.

Security Council resolution 1272 (1999) established a wide mandate for the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), including the establishment of a national civil administration, the development of civil and social services and support for capacity-building for self-government. The report of the Secretary-General presented here today recommends that a limited number of civilian professional staff remain within a successor mission to provide assistance to the new Timorese Government, both in the area of training and to ensure the continued daily functioning of the administration.

The positions proposed are in the key State functions of budget, tax, treasury, central payments, justice and legal counsel, procurement, internal administration, infrastructure management and land and property. The World Bank's assessment of the governance situation in East Timor and East Timorese capacity indicates that the continued provision of international staff in those positions is critical to avoid a risk of collapse of State services in the period immediately after independence. Before the August independence ballot, supervised by the United Nations, little opportunity existed for Timorese professionals to develop relevant skills.

Good progress has been made since late 2000, but strong management systems and skills will take much longer to build than the short period between the establishment of the East Timorese Transitional Administration and independence. We estimate that, without operational management support from international staff, there would indeed be a risk of paralysis in some of these functions. This has a substantial knock-on effect across government. For example, if medicines cannot be procured or health workers paid, health services will collapse, even though in all other ways public health management

may be quite sound and capacity to manage sector ministries by the East Timorese generally is sound.

We note that the current proposal on the need for United Nations funding is already based on strong burden-sharing with bilateral and multilateral donors. The Trust Fund for East Timor, for example, which is administered by the World Bank through the International Development Association (IDA), will finance at least 30 international positions in the year following independence. Bilateral donors are also providing a good deal of technical assistance.

However, the nature of many of the functions outlined in the Secretary-General's report is outside the type of capacity-building more normally provided by donors, in that the positions directly support the ongoing operational management of government, often in politically sensitive areas such as procurement or legal counsel. In contrast, development assistance for capacity-building is provided through training or international staff engaged in development projects.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the aggregate external financing available for East Timor is already overstretched to assist the East Timorese Government in delivering basic services. The UNTAET-administered Consolidated Fund of East Timor and the IDA-administered Trust Fund for East Timor currently have a combined financing gap of over $14 million. In the post-independence period, we estimate that East Timor will have some difficulty in mobilizing the external financing required to bridge the lean years between independence and the realization of more substantial Timor Sea hydrocarbon revenues in 2005/2006, even after allowing for concessional support through the international development banks.

Preparations are currently under way for the next East Timor donors meeting in Oslo, from 11 to 13 December this year. This meeting, chaired jointly by the United Nations and the World Bank, aims to provide a platform to initiate donor discussions on the medium-term programme of support for East Timor after independence. An integrated approach between this process and discussions of the assessed contribution budget is desirable, since uncertainties over the coverage of the assessed contribution budget will inevitably affect donor discussions on the medium-term aid programme.

East Timor is very important to the World Bank Group because of the strong partnerships we have forged with the Timorese people and with donors in post-conflict reconstruction in a particularly challenging environment. We will maintain this commitment over the years following independence. We look forward to working with the new East Timorese Government, the United Nations and donor partners to ensure that gains made in social and economic recovery since the 1999 ballot are strengthened as the first new independent nation and Member State in this new millennium is born.

The President: I call on Mr. Zephirin Diabre, Associate Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme.

Mr. Diabre (*spoke in French*): It is my honour to address the Security Council today on behalf of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) on the important issue of East Timor's transition to independence and the support needed from the international community to ensure the viability of this first new State of the millennium. This is an especially rare privilege because the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland, a country that is a valued partner of UNDP, is presiding over this meeting.

United Nations agencies, funds and programmes are well established in East Timor and are determined to support that nation during the transition period and the time of independence. Everyone can see how necessary external assistance will be for many years to come. To date, offices in Dili have been opened by UNDP including the United Nations Volunteers programme, the United Nations Children's Fund, the World Health Organization, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Labour Office, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the World Food Programme, the United Nations Development Fund for Women and the United Nations Population Fund; they have implemented major programmes in support of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and the Second Transitional Government in East Timor in their respective areas of competence and expertise.

Their activities are coordinated by the United Nations Development Coordinator, who also represents UNDP in East Timor. With independence, that post will become a normal post of United Nations resident coordinator and UNDP resident representative. The incumbent will serve as assistant to the Special

Representative of the Secretary-General and will be charged with enhancing the cohesiveness of the work of the United Nations system in East Timor and with ensuring close cooperation among the United Nations mission and United Nations agencies, funds and programmes. A draft country programme has been prepared, and a United Nations framework plan for development assistance should be approved by the new Government as soon as independence is attained. Then, regular programmes can be submitted to the governing bodies of the funds and programmes before the end of 2002.

Let me say what a great contribution the personal commitment, open-mindedness, intellectual capacity and tirelessness of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, have made to the work of the United Nations funds and programmes. I thank him once again, and I assure him that we stand with him as he carries out his important mission, the success of which has been hailed by all.

Over the past two years, assistance provided by the United Nations Development Group has shifted from emergency support to reconstruction and development. Now there is an emphasis on capacity-building, particularly training, institution-building and formulating policies, all of which are at the forefront of concerns for the new nation. With UNDP support, an overall framework for capacity-building in the public sector has been formulated and officially adopted. Health, energy, water, natural-disaster management, the legal system and the establishment of an inspector-general's office are among the areas that have received assistance with a view to building national capacity. The electoral process too has benefited from considerable assistance. A coordination unit has been set up within the Government with a view to ensuring good coordination of activities and to support efforts to mobilize donor resources.

(*spoke in English*)

With the ongoing withdrawal of UNTAET civilian personnel and the establishment of the Second Transitional Government, it has become increasingly obvious that in order to sustain the current success of the UNTAET mission beyond independence, East Timor will continue to require significant international personnel support for an interim period.

For reasons well known to all, there simply are not enough qualified and experienced East Timorese to ensure the viability of the new State and to embark upon the daunting task of nation-building and ensuring sustainable development in one of the world's poorest countries.

As indicated by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and by the Chief Minister, UNDP has, at the request of the transitional authority, completed a technical study of human-resource needs in the short term and the medium term. The study shows that to ensure political stability, 96 positions will be required for periods of up to 24 months. Some of those positions will have line functions, but the majority will focus on mentoring and advisory services to develop the skills and knowledge of East Timorese officials to enable them to take over line positions immediately. The study also provides illustrations, using standardized formats for job descriptions related to the required positions.

In addition to those positions, UNDP estimates that some 200 positions will also be required to effectively address issues of poverty reduction and sustainable development as part of the nation-building process. More work will be done by UNDP in close collaboration with the Government to define such positions in greater detail. A preliminary report will be ready before the next donor conference on East Timor, which is due to be held at Oslo in mid-December.

I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm the commitment of UNDP to continue to support efforts to mobilize the financial resources required to fund the estimated 200 positions for nation-building from voluntary sources. But we need to be realistic about the likelihood of meeting all the development needs of East Timor in the future. The amount of funds available for East Timor is clearly finite, and tough choices on priorities will have to be made within the framework of the overall envelope. Furthermore, conflicting demands on scarce resources for development and the emergence of new global priorities will clearly make the task more difficult. The United Nations agencies, funds and programmes have only limited financial resources of their own, and will have to rely on additional contributions from bilateral and other donors to secure full funding for the programmes in East Timor now and in the future.

The inclusion of a civilian personnel support component in the planned successor mission will clearly be a major contribution to ensuring continued

political stability in East Timor after independence. It is our considered opinion that, without that guarantee of support, critical government functions will be compromised.

The United Nations was entrusted with the responsibility of ensuring the successful transition of East Timor from the emergency of 1999 to independence as a full member of the community of nations. While we in the United Nations Development Group know that our relationship is just beginning as the nation begins its new independent life, we know too that we are as yet unable fully to fulfil our normal role in the absence of counterparts to work with in many areas. The East Timorese themselves have now elected their first Constituent Assembly, and its leaders have concluded that considerable external support must be guaranteed by the international community if the new Government is to carry out its responsibilities. The United Nations Development Group and the people of East Timor trust that the Council will find the means to guarantee that the United Nations, complemented by generous voluntary contributions, can complete the tasks it was charged with: to put in place not only support elements for the fledgling civil service, but also major programmes for long-term capacity-building and poverty eradication. Thus will we help put in place a strong, confident and capable Government in East Timor with the capacity and the commitment to meet the needs of all its citizens.

(*spoke in French*)

That is UNDP's analysis and explanation of the recommendations that have been placed before the Security Council. Again, it has been a great honour and privilege for me to address the Council today.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore): First of all, I would like to welcome you, Minister Cowen, to New York. Since this is the last day of the Irish presidency, we would like to congratulate you and your team. It has been a difficult month, and your team has done a sterling job.

We would also like to welcome our friends, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and, of course, Chief Minister Mr. Mari Alkatiri; once again, I would like to congratulate Mr. Alkatiri on the successful holding of elections. We also welcome our colleagues from the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme.

Before I go into the substance of my remarks today on a subject of great importance to us, I want to make three brief procedural points arising from the discussions that we had on the draft presidential statement. These are important procedural points, because they may come into play when, in elaborating the draft resolution, we decide the future of East Timor.

The first procedural question is this: when we, the members, produce decisions of the Council, should we factor in only our national interests, or also the concerns of the international community? Our own view is that — and this is an important point — each one of us wears two hats: our national hat, and our hat as a representative of the international community. This, by the way, is enshrined in Article 24, paragraph 1, of the Charter, which states that

> "Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf."

We think that we should bear that in mind when we discuss the situation in East Timor.

The second question is this: when we produce decisions, how do we factor in the views of other Member States? We had a very fruitful discussion with the troop-contributing countries. This afternoon, we will be hearing the views of other Member States. How do we bring those views into play when we make concrete decisions on East Timor? That is a real question that we need to answer.

The third procedural question is this: when making decisions, how do we remember past decisions and commitments, and how do we bring them into play? For example, earlier today, you, Mr. President, read out a presidential statement on women and peace and security, which I think mentioned East Timor. How do we take that presidential statement and apply it to East Timor?

I raised those procedural questions because they will come up in the future.

Today, in response to your appeal, Mr. President, to be brief and to highlight the key points, I will not read out the text that we have distributed. But, given the importance of East Timor to Singapore and to our region, I hope that you will allow me to make seven points.

First, I would like to say that, of course, we fully support the Secretary-General's report. We normally say that of all the Secretary-General's reports, but it is

important to bear in mind that this time the Secretary-General has produced a very careful and well-balanced report pointing out how to take the large operation that we have in East Timor today and scale it down significantly in such a manner that it ensures a successful transition. Figures are provided in the report, and the Secretary-General also gives an indication of how the United Nations presence will be scaled down as the East Timor Defence Force and the East Timor Police Service are built up. I am glad that today we will be endorsing the Secretary-General's report.

The second key point — I am glad that this was emphasized by Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello — is that we have undertaken a big job in East Timor, and we must finish it. I believe that that is what Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello said. But the question is: what is the job? In that respect, I suppose that it would be normal for most people to think that when East Timor becomes independent, the job will be done and the United Nations will have completed its mission. But clearly the requirements of the job have been spelt out in paragraph 2 of resolution 1272 (1999), which I will read out, because I believe that it is important. It states:

> "*Decides also* that the mandate of UNTAET shall consist of the following elements:
>
> (a) To provide security and maintain law and order throughout the territory of East Timor;
>
> (b) To establish an effective administration;
>
> (c) To assist in the development of civil and social services;
>
> (d) To ensure the coordination and delivery of humanitarian assistance, rehabilitation and development assistance;
>
> (e) To support capacity-building for self-government;
>
> (f) To assist in the establishment of conditions for sustainable development".

Those are simple requirements. Have we fulfilled them yet? Will we have done so in time for independence? The answer is, "No".

Interestingly enough, in connection with our discussion of exit strategies, a note (S/2001/905) was issued by the President of the Council on 25 September, which, in paragraph 6, stated:

> "The Security Council agrees that a major criterion for the Council's decision on the scaling down or withdrawal of a peacekeeping operation is the successful completion of its mandate".

That was stated in a note issued by the President of the Security Council. Now we have a real case to which we must apply the commitment that we made. We have given ourselves a mandate, and we must therefore complete the job. I hope that all members will agree with that.

The third key point is that, if we look at the recent history of the United Nations, there have, unfortunately, not been too many success stories. But East Timor provides real potential for a real success story. For that to come about, however, we will have to learn the lesson of why we have not had success stories in the past. To take two recent examples, to which I refer in my written statement — those of the Central African Republic and Guinea-Bissau — sadly, we walked away before the job was done. All we are saying is that we should not let that happen to East Timor.

Success never comes easily, however. If it were a natural phenomenon, we would see it every day. But we do not see success every day. Success comes through hard thinking, shrewd judgements, hard work, dedication and commitment. The image we have suggested using to help us to understand this is that of a duck moving smoothly across a lake. All we see is the smooth movement on the surface; we do not see the legs paddling away ferociously below. But it is the ferocious paddling below the surface that delivers the smooth movement across the lake. It is the Security Council's job to provide the ferociously moving legs that will make East Timor a success story. We think it can be done if we make the right decisions now and in the coming months.

The fourth point is that the key to success in East Timor is assured funding. In this context, assured funding means assessed contributions. We believe that these are required in order to protect the investments made and the success achieved to date. But a much more important point is this: if things go wrong in East Timor, how much more will it cost us to go back in and rebuild the success that we have today? I think that if, even with limited contributions, we can sustain the success story, we should do so, in order to avoid being penny wise and pound foolish.

The fifth key point is that we have a responsibility to the people of East Timor. Indeed, in paragraph 87 of his report (S/2001/983), the Secretary-General states:

> "Initially, the responsibility to establish a viable state in East Timor clearly belongs to its people. The East Timorese have amply demonstrated the depth of their commitment to this task through sacrifice, imagination and determination. I urge the Security Council to ensure that these foundations are not undermined and to consolidate the remarkable contribution it has already made to this historic undertaking."

I suggest we heed the words of the Secretary-General and remember our responsibility to the East Timorese people.

Our sixth key point is this: let us think of the implications for other United Nations endeavours of failure in East Timor. We all know — it is no secret — that the United Nations is now contemplating an extremely difficult — indeed, possibly perilous — United Nations mission in another corner of Asia, called Afghanistan. A significant United Nations success story in East Timor will increase the prestige and standing of the United Nations. This, in turn, will boost the credibility of the United Nations as it takes on other difficult and continuing challenges, not just in Afghanistan, but in Africa and the Balkans. Clearly, we now know that, in the light of the events of 11 September and the global campaign against terrorism, it is important that we deliver such success stories from the United Nations.

Our seventh key point — and this is, for Singapore, a very important point — is that this issue has a strategic dimension for us. East Timor's future and that of the region are inextricably linked. An unstable East Timor will unsettle the entire region, which has been undergoing various wrenching transformations. This will complicate the region's efforts to overcome the political and economic problems it faces.

How the United Nations handles East Timor after independence will therefore have wide-ranging strategic consequences for our region as a whole. For us, East Timor is not an abstract matter; it is not just another agenda item. It is of vital and immediate strategic importance to Singapore and to other countries in our region.

To be sure, other members of the Council may take a more detached view of East Timor. It is in the nature of multilateral diplomacy that not every issue is of equal or immediate significance to every member of the Council. How the Council responds to this issue, however, will inevitably colour how our region will view other initiatives that may appear as detached from our immediate concerns as East Timor may seem to some Council members.

Finally, I am glad that we will endorse the report and recommendations of the Secretary-General. The reason this endorsement is important at this stage is that it will send an important signal of confidence to the people of East Timor, who must be wondering as they move towards independence how much support the international community will give them. With this presidential statement we will be sending them a very positive signal. Our only hope is that we will remember this presidential statement when we return here in early January to discuss the concrete structure of United Nations assistance to East Timor.

Miss Durrant (Jamaica): Mr. President, my delegation is pleased to see you, the Foreign Minister of Ireland, presiding over today's meeting of the Security Council, as this marks another milestone in the period leading up to the independence of East Timor. We join in welcoming the Chief Minister of the Council of Ministers of the Second Transitional Government of East Timor and his team, and assure them of Jamaica's continued solidarity with the people of East Timor.

Let me also thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his leadership of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and for his comprehensive briefing. In addition, we thank the Associate Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Vice-President of the World Bank for the contributions their organizations are making to East Timor's development.

Following the success of elections in East Timor on 30 August, and UNTAET's progress in implementing the mandate given to it in resolution 1272 (1999), it is important for the Council to take another look at the future role of the United Nations and the way ahead for the people of East Timor. In so doing, we are mindful of and agree wholeheartedly with the words of the Secretary-General:

> "The essential requirement in the case of East Timor is to ensure that the enormous sacrifices of the East Timorese, the substantial investments of the international community, and the cooperation of the parties required to bring about a successful transition to independence are not squandered for lack of international attention and support for the new State". (*S/2001/394, para. 43*)

As Ambassador Mahbubani has indicated, the Council has been discussing for several months the transition from peacekeeping to peace-building. We now have a concrete case before us, East Timor, and it is important for us to demonstrate that we will move from words to action. We must therefore work quickly to address the problems that still exist and to build on the gains achieved over the past two years. We must continue to lay the groundwork for the establishment of an effective administration by emphasizing capacity-building and the training of the East Timorese for self-government and independence.

We are pleased with UNTAET's continued focus on accelerated devolution of authority. The Constituent Assembly has been sworn in and has begun its work on the Constitution. A Second Transitional Government has been established. Along with the devolution of authority to the executive, the recruitment and training of civil servants have improved. A functioning public administration staffed by East Timorese is evolving.

We also note that three times as many refugees returned to East Timor in September as in August. We must also work to ensure the safety of those in West Timor. In both instances, the cooperation of the Indonesian Government remains important. We are therefore disappointed that talks on the security phase imposed by the Office of the United Nations Security Coordinator have not borne much fruit and that there is no agreement on the memorandum of understanding. The Indonesian Government's plans to cease providing humanitarian assistance to refugees give greater urgency to these talks, and we hope that future discussions will be conducted in a spirit of compromise and understanding.

We welcome the cooperation between UNTAET's military component and the Indonesian armed forces, as well as the agreement to improve security cooperation. We would like to commend the Indonesian Government for its efforts in this regard, and reiterate that the continued promotion of good relations between the two Governments is essential to East Timor's future.

We must also consider the dangers posed to a sustainable and lasting peace by debilitating poverty and underdevelopment. My delegation therefore attaches great importance to continued progress in East Timor's economic and social development. The Secretary-General's report notes that the decrease in United Nations personnel and expenditure will adversely affect the territory's economic growth. We agree that poverty-reduction initiatives and structural reforms are a good start. We therefore welcome the continued efforts of the UNDP and the World Bank to assist in the areas of poverty alleviation and reconstruction. But we must also assist the people of East Timor in creating an enabling environment for sustained economic growth and sustainable development. Coordination and proper planning to ensure simultaneous development in the areas of health and education, as well as in the agricultural sector, will ensure that overall development is promoted.

It is clear that the accomplishments of UNTAET since the 1999 referendum are substantial, and that it has been successfully implementing many parts of the mandate given to it in resolution 1272 (1999). Nevertheless, it is clear also that the people of East Timor will require further support. The Secretary-General points out in his report that the primary focus of the successor mission will be to ensure the security of East Timor and the viability and stability of its government structures. It is in this context that we fully support the Secretary-General's recommendations for an international presence after independence.

I wish to make a few comments on the issues raised in the Secretary-General's report.

First, the military component must work effectively with the judicial system to achieve the maintenance of law and order. Both have implications for reconciliation and refugee return. We support a military component that is able to address internal and external threats to East Timor, and we look forward to the further development of the East Timor Police Service and the East Timor Defence Force. Further downgrading of the military component should take place only with the parallel development of the capacity of local law enforcement and defence authorities. Certainly, there will be a need for constant review as developments require.

Secondly, with regard to the civilian component, the Secretary-General has pointed to a significant lack of local expertise needed to perform core functions essential to the stability and functioning of the Government, and we have heard these addressed by previous speakers. In the light of the importance of these 100 core functions, we support the recommendation that they be funded from assessed contributions.

However, paragraph 80 of the Secretary-General's report points out:

> "Owing to the unprecedented scope of the UNTAET mandate, and the need to build the administration from the ground up, further external assistance beyond these core functions will unquestionably be required to ensure broader government services." *(S/2001/983)*

The paragraph also notes that there will be need for funding from voluntary contributions and that, in addition to the 100 core functions, we will need 135 functions which are crucial to the effectiveness of the new State.

We therefore join the Secretary-General in his appeal to donors to contribute generously in order to meet these needs.

Thirdly, we are concerned that the justice system is still at a nascent stage, and we agree that it will require close attention. We therefore support a greater emphasis on the justice system and on human rights, and we encourage greater support in the Territory's civil administration in particular.

Fourthly, we commend UNTAET for its attention to gender issues. We are gratified at the recent election of a number of women to the Constituent Assembly, and we feel it is important for the future of East Timor to continue to make provisions to deal with the role of women in society. We strongly support the view that gender initiatives should continue to form an integral part of the civilian component, and it is probably very propitious that we were able to adopt the presidential statement today on women and peace and security.

Fifthly, consistent with the importance that we attach to the process of reconciliation, we support the Secretary-General's plans for the Serious Crimes Unit. My delegation believes that the prosecution of those responsible for war crimes and other heinous acts is essential to the maintenance of, and respect for, law and order, and that this will have a positive impact on reconciliation.

In the same vein, we hope that the Indonesian Supreme Court will soon undertake a review of the verdicts handed down to those responsible for the deaths of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees staff members on 6 September 2000.

The Secretary-General's report has identified a number of crucial areas in the structure of the East Timor Government that will require our continued support. If we are to be consistent in our approach and our commitment to the people of East Timor, the international community must ensure that adequate and assured financial support is provided where needed.

But based on the past experience of UNTAET, it is clear that we cannot rely substantially on voluntary contributions. The Secretary-General's report indicates that voluntary contributions are already stretched thin in East Timor and that even the two primary trust funds are not yet fully resourced. Furthermore, as we have heard this morning, United Nations agencies are experiencing serious substantial constraints.

We would wish to emphasize that we have gone so far based on the determination, the commitment and the sacrifice of the people of East Timor and their leaders, the guidance of UNTAET and the close involvement of the Council and the international community. As East Timor joins the international community, we must not breach the trust which the people of East Timor have placed in us. We owe it to them not only to welcome them into the international community but also to ensure their future.

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): First of all, Sir, I should like to welcome you and to express our satisfaction at seeing you preside over our meeting. We would like also to welcome the representatives of East Timor, the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme and to thank them for their statements. We also thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for his comprehensive briefing.

We are pleased at the obvious progress that East Timor is continuing to achieve in various fields following the election of the Constituent Assembly. We appreciate the fruitful efforts made in this regard by the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

The Chinese delegation welcomes East Timor's decision to declare independence on 20 May next year. The independence of East Timor is the result of the common efforts made by the East Timorese people and the international community, and it also represents important progress on the part of the United Nations towards fulfilling its mission in East Timor.

However, 20 May is by no means a cutoff date for UNTAET. My delegation has always emphasized the fact that, even after the independence of East Timor, it is imperative to maintain a considerable international presence there, with a view to completing the mandate entrusted to UNTAET by the Security Council and to ensure the full success of the work of the United Nations in East Timor.

The Secretary-General, in his report, has put forward specific recommendations with regard to the composition and scale of a successor mission. We deem his recommendations practical and feasible. Paragraph 84 of the report emphasizes in particular the views he expressed in his report entitled "No exit without strategy":

> "The essential requirement in the case of East Timor is to ensure that the enormous sacrifices of the East Timorese, the substantial investments of the international community and the cooperation of the parties required to bring about a successful transition to independence are not squandered for lack of international attention and support for the new State." *(S/2001/983)*

This statement cuts to the heart of the matter and inspires us to deep reflection. The realization of independence in East Timor represents only half of what the United Nations has set out to achieve there. After 20 May, as a newly independent State, East Timor will be facing the tremendous task of reconstruction. In many areas, the help of the United Nations will be indispensable.

The final withdrawal of the United Nations from East Timor must have as its precondition the completion of its mandate, as set out in resolution 1272 (1999). After the independence of East Timor, the continued presence of the United Nations will have the goal of ensuring that the efforts made to date by the international community including the United Nations, in East Timor are not squandered.

The Secretary-General, in his report, said that he was submitting his proposals to the Security Council for its consideration and approval. I want to emphasize the fact that he used the word "approval". Having carefully considered the objective needs of the independence process of East Timor and the practical recommendations made by the Secretary-General, China endorses those recommendations. Of course, this is on the understanding that the successor mission is guaranteed sufficient financial resources.

Finally, we support the presidential statement to be made at the end of this meeting.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): Let me thank you, Sir, for honouring us with your presence at today's meeting, which is taking place at a very important stage in the history of East Timor. We would like also to welcome Mr. Mari Alkatiri, who is ably guiding the work of the Second Transitional Government of East Timor.

France also welcomes Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, who, as always, described with precision and clarity the current situation and above all the path to follow. France subscribes word for word to his language. Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello is one of those men who do the United Nations honour. From Cambodia to East Timor, his entire career is an example of those great servants of the United Nations who explain why the Oslo jury decided to confer the Nobel Peace Prize on the United Nations.

Later in the debate the Ambassador of the European Union, the Ambassador of Belgium, will state the position of the 15 members of the European Union. I will therefore confine myself, as you, Mr. President, have requested, to a few brief remarks. Also, since this is a debate and our friend Kishore Mahbubani enjoys debate, I will respond to Kishore Mahbubani.

Timor and the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) are clearly already one of the success stories of the United Nations. Sergio Vieira de Mello said that we must remain prudent. He is right. We must get to the very end of the route. But there are already signs of success. The elections were perfect. The drafting of the Constitution by the Constituent Assembly is progressing well. The declaration of independence, in friendship and cooperation with Indonesia, is scheduled for 20 May 2002. I thank the head of Government for

his invitation. I think that the Council will unhesitatingly be in Dili on 20 May to be at his side on that great day.

But, naturally, the history of East Timor and international involvement there will not end on independence day. We must not, as Kishore Mahbubani rightly said, repeat the mistakes of the past. There must be no exit without strategy. The stability of the entire region depends on it.

Moreover, the enormous investment that the international community has already rightly made in East Timor cannot be put at risk. More than a billion dollars of multilateral aid has been mobilized since October 1999 to show the solidarity of all our countries with East Timor. Even today, a quarter of the soldiers wearing blue helmets deployed around the world are in East Timor. This means that the international community's solidarity has been strong, and that of France, which has no national interest in East Timor or the region, is exemplary. I wish to state that each French citizen spends eight times the amount spent by each citizen of Singapore on nation-building in East Timor, even though the standard of living of the citizen of Singapore is higher than that of the French citizen. That is only one figure among several. It testifies to France's commitment, because that is how France judges that its role — not in the Security Council, but in the service of the United Nations — should be fulfilled.

But there is a real debate — as is clear from our interventions — stemming from the complex character of an operation such as that of East Timor. The truth is that the United Nations is more and more involved in operations that are at once peacekeeping and nation-building.

France has for long considered that to carry out these operations the Security Council needs to develop a dual partnership. I said 18 months ago; I have repeated it since, and I repeat it today, because I believe it to be important: the first partnership is naturally the Council's partnership with the troop-contributing countries. They have expressed frustration at not being sufficiently involved. I believe that the Council responded to their concerns in resolution 1353 (2001), and I had the honour, during the French presidency of the Council, to organize the Council's first consultations with troop-contributing countries under the new format, which I believe was a real improvement. The Council's second partnership is with the international institutions belonging to the family of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and, naturally, also the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), whose representative I welcome to this table, as well as other institutions. Good coordination is essential. I believe that our meeting today proves that it can exist between what the Council deems must be done and what the institutions of the United Nations family, such as the Bretton Woods institutions, can achieve in close cooperation with the United Nations.

Now I come to the heart of today's debate, which is also a recurring debate heard next door, in the General Assembly. It is a real debate that we should approach openly. As the Council further develops these complex operations — Cambodia was the first, followed by others including East Timor — it can clearly be seen that the Council's jurisdiction tends to stretch beyond that strictly prescribed by the Charter: the maintenance of international peace and security. It now extends to activities that are more of the nature of nation-building: the construction or reconstruction of the economy, of social structures, even of State structures. Therefore, in the debates, particularly in the General Assembly, a certain frustration is expressed. How far will the Security Council expand its area of competence? What will be left to the General Assembly if the Security Council becomes more and more involved in these complex and integrated operations?

I believe that the Council must be attentive to these frustrations expressed in the General Assembly. That is why, in the framework of the preparation of a presidential statement, on the basis of some noteworthy recommendations by the Secretary-General, France wished that the debate be open. It is not a debate on financing, because, in any case, the financing must be provided. It must be part of our regular budget, whether in the United Nations regular budget under the General Assembly or in the budget for peacekeeping operations. It is a question of distribution of competences.

I believe that this is a debate that we should have not just in today's case, but also with respect to other complex operations, so that when we are heading towards success, as we are under the leadership of Sergio Vieira de Mello, it will be the success of not just one people, the East Timorese, or one man, Sergio

Vieira de Mello, or perhaps one institution, the Security Council, but truly the entire United Nations family, including the General Assembly.

Mr. Granovsky (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We would like to join others in welcoming you, Mr. President, as well as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, the Chief Minister of the Second Transitional Government of East Timor, the Vice-President of the World Bank and the representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

We greatly appreciate the work done by the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), so brilliantly headed by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello. We also greatly appreciate what has been done to establish the statehood of this territory as it moves towards independence. In particular, we welcome the successful holding of elections to the Constituent Assembly. We believe that is an indication of a healthy trend in the development of social and political processes in East Timor. We are convinced that Timorization of authority in the territory is the only real way that one can move towards establishing an independent and stable State.

Overall, we feel that the United Nations has played a key role in overcoming the East Timor crisis. It is necessary to envisage a future evolution of the role of the United Nations in the international community's post-conflict presence in that new State. We believe that the size, shape and timing of the future international presence must be determined on the basis of analysing the real needs of East Timor, while taking into account the dynamics of the developing situation on the island and the position of the country's Government.

A broad range of United Nations organizations and agencies must be engaged in helping to establish the independent State. Regional structures, international financial institutions and individual donor countries must also back up the efforts of the United Nations, which, in our opinion, should play the role of coordinator in this process. We also think that as the State structures of East Timor are established, the international presence should gradually wind down. All of these processes, including the transition from UNTAET to the new format of a United Nations presence, must be smoothly and carefully verified so that there can be a successful continuation of United Nations achievements in East Timor.

In view of all that I have said, let me now say that we support the tenor and specific ideas contained in the recent report of the Secretary-General. We believe that report has set the right tone in discussing specific steps of international assistance to an independent East Timor. But at the same time, we would like to have a clearer picture of exactly what is involved in the programme of international assistance. The report of the Secretary-General on the future role of the United Nations in East Timor can be regarded as a good first step that must be followed up with more substance — one could call it a prelude to a complete, beautiful symphony.

It is our expectation that detailed proposals by the Secretary-General will be submitted to the Security Council along with a recommendation about the last extension of UNTAET's mandate, set for January of next year, so that the Council can, in good time and without undue haste, prepare the mandate of the new mission and thereby help to ensure successful preparations for independence in East Timor.

Mr. Latona (Mauritius): My delegation is pleased to see you presiding over this meeting today, Mr. President. We are also pleased to welcome to the Security Council the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Vieira de Mello, and Chief Minister Alkatiri. We thank them for their comprehensive briefings. We also welcome the representatives of the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and thank them for their statements.

Let me also congratulate, through the Chief Minister, the people of East Timor for successfully electing the national Constituent Assembly in an atmosphere of peace and free of violence. In effect, the rate of participation in the election in East Timor of over 91 per cent has proved once again that no spirit or desire is bigger than that of self- determination. We are happy to note that not only have peace and calm now been firmly established in the country, but that the people of East Timor are heading towards soon achieving their cherished goal of independence in a systematic and well-prepared manner.

The report of the Secretary-General is highly commendable for its detailed information on the situation in East Timor, especially after the peaceful

elections for the Constituent Assembly, on 30 August 2001. My delegation fully supports the recommendations of the Secretary-General, especially those relating to the continued presence of United Nations personnel in East Timor.

Now that the cornerstone of popular democracy and representative government has been put in place, the primary aim of the transitional and future Governments will have to be the consolidation of these principles, so that reconstruction of the island can be facilitated and expedited. In this regard, it is important for the international community to extend the necessary support to East Timor in all spheres of activity. The Security Council should therefore continue to support East Timor and to show that it remains fully committed during the transition period. Any compromise or self-complacency on the part of the international community could lead to a standstill, or even to a reversal of the situation, thereby jeopardizing the gains already made.

The elections to the Constituent Assembly have indeed paved the way to independence for the people. However, for independence to be fully enjoyed, the following three pillars are essential for a functioning democracy in a new, independent country: an impartial and independent judiciary, a competent and fully trained civilian police service, and a solid and broad-based administrative framework. The fledgling judiciary will therefore need training and support in order to make it more professional, and so that it can perform its role effectively in ensuring the rule of law and the protection of human rights. In this respect, we welcome the promulgation of regulation 2001/25, of 14 September 2001, which lays down measures to make the court system more effective and to expedite the judicial process.

Likewise, a well-trained civilian police service will be very important for maintaining law and order in East Timor and for the promotion and protection of human rights. In this regard, we welcome the progress in the training of East Timorese for the higher posts in the Police Service. In respect of the establishment of a functioning public administration, we welcome the major advances made in the past two years in building a civil service and its institutions from the ground up. With the increased facilities for the training of personnel, we are confident that the East Timorese will be able to shoulder responsibility for their country in the best possible manner.

No sustainable peace or stability can be possible in the absence of a secure environment in East Timor. Although the elections were held in a very peaceful manner, we should not overlook certain factors that might negatively impact on the good works so far carried out. In this regard, we express our concerns over militia activities and illegal markets along the borders — although those are on the decline — and over the continued intimidation of refugees. The Council should therefore ensure that the 80,000 refugees still in Indonesia are free to return voluntarily to East Timor. Until they are resettled in East Timor, it is imperative for humanitarian assistance to continue unabated.

It is also important that the people of East Timor feel secure in every walk of life. This can be possible only by ensuring that they fully enjoy their rights without discrimination, by promoting confidence-building measures and by incorporating all human rights norms into the Constitution that is currently being drafted, and which is expected to be completed within the next 60 days, as the Chief Minister has informed us.

On the external front, East Timor desperately needs the necessary diplomatic support from neighbouring States, especially Indonesia. It is encouraging to note that informal meetings are already being held at higher levels between Indonesia and East Timor. We welcome the meeting held on 12 September between the President of Indonesia and the Special Representative, accompanied by the Chief Minister and the Senior Minister for Foreign Affairs and Mr. Xanana Gusmão. We also welcome the ongoing negotiations between Indonesia and the office of the United Nations Development Office (UNDP) towards the establishment of technical arrangements, as a basis for the return of United Nations agencies to East Nusa Tanggara.

There has been much talk about lack of coordination among various United Nations agencies. The situation in East Timor is one of those where such coordination can be of paramount importance, especially when we enter the phase of peace-building and reconstruction of the East Timorese economy. It is the view of my delegation that the experience gained in Haiti should serve as a basis for future action in East Timor.

A country that has suffered so much trauma and been subjected to untold hardships can never embark

on nation-building without justice being seen to be done in favour of the victims. Nation-building is never complete without a consolidated, united and peace-loving society. The same is true for East Timor. We believe more is required than what is currently in place in order to encourage longer-term reconciliation among the East Timorese. Importance must therefore be given to nation-building, capacity-building and institution-building.

My delegation, like others, welcomes the amendment to the Presidential Decree of 23 April that established an ad hoc human rights tribunal to deal with gross human rights violations in East Timor. Although it expands the jurisdiction of the tribunal, it fails, however, in its objective of restricting trials to those cases that occurred in the months of April and September 1999. We hope that the Government of Indonesia will revisit its decision by expanding the jurisdiction of the ad hoc tribunal to cover all cases of human rights crimes committed in East Timor from January to October 1999.

My delegation fully supports the establishment of a Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation that would be empowered to hold hearings and seek evidence in order to establish the truth about all relevant events that occurred in East Timor from 25 April 1974 to 25 October 1999. However, the Commission should not be seen as an alternative to justice, but should supplement the judicial process. We are confident that the Commission will help in healing the wounds and in bringing the East Timorese closer together than ever, in the interests of the whole nation.

With only three months to go before the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) expires, there is a need for a decision on the successor mission. The United Nations should not be complacent. Instead, it should at all costs avoid having a half-accomplished mission. We therefore believe that it is imperative for the international community to remain involved in East Timor for a period of two years, starting from independence. The United Nations has no other responsible choice but to remain committed to the goals set out for UNTAET. The successor mission plan, detailing and providing for an integrated peacekeeping mission is the right decision by the international community, given that UNTAET's mandate will not have been fulfilled by the end of January 2002.

In this regard, we fully support the recommendations of the Secretary-General and agree that the United Nations should remain engaged in East Timor to protect and consolidate the major achievements so far realized. With regard to the physical presence of UNTAET in a post-independence East Timor, we fully agree that it should be the right size to cater to the more specific needs of the country in this new phase of its political future.

Finally, we support the draft presidential statement circulated today.

The President: The representative of Singapore wishes to take the floor on a point of clarification with regard to his earlier statement. With the concurrence of the members of the Council, I propose to give him the floor now.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore): In view of the fact that Ambassador Jean-David Levitte referred to some of my points, I just wanted to clarify the situation for the record.

First, Ambassador Levitte said that we liked to debate for the sake of debate. On this issue, we were not really trying to debate, but we were very puzzled by our difficulties in the informal consultations in endorsing a very reasonable report of the Secretary-General. We did not know how to alert the non-members of the Council that we were having these difficulties. But in some ways Ambassador Levitte has done it for us.

Secondly, I heard Ambassador Levitte say that he completely agreed with the remarks made by Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and so do we. I think that puts us in substantial agreement on the core issues.

Thirdly — and we were very puzzled by this — Ambassador Levitte referred to the fact that France's contribution is much more than Singapore's on East Timor. We do not have the figures here, nor do we have the time to research them — but we will research them. But it is a fact that under the formula whereby contributions are made to peacekeeping operations permanent members do pay a certain premium because of their permanent membership. I think it is generally acknowledged within the United Nations community that with privilege comes responsibility. That is an agreed principle. Indeed, many Members are prepared to become permanent members even if they have to pay a bit more.

Fourthly — and I think this is a very important point that Ambassador Levitte made — is that we should be sensitive to the views of the General Assembly. I completely agree with him, and I hope that in the course of today's debate we will listen very carefully to the views of the non-members and also hear a very key point that they always make in the discussions in the Security Council, which is that they hope that the Security Council will be accountable to the members of the General Assembly. If we do that, I think we will be making a very positive contribution.

Mr. Eldon (United Kingdom): Foreign Minister, Special Representative and Chief Minister, we welcome you to the Council. I am very grateful to you all for the helpful, useful and constructive statements that have been made today. I am grateful also to the representatives of the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), who have briefed us also this morning.

Minister, I personally find it extremely gratifying good news to be where we are in this room two years on, as Sergio Vieira de Mello has said. I think — and I would like to paraphrase Ambassador Mahbubani here — that over the last two years the Council has in fact done a very good job of shouldering both its national and collective responsibilities. For the United Kingdom — I cannot speak for others — the presence of 200 Gurkhas in the International Force in East Timor (INTERFET), the military observers and the civilian police in the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), and the extensive development and reconstruction assistance given in the early stages, are an expression both of national commitment and of our commitment as a permanent member of this Council to what is, I think, a very successful United Nations operation. We are fully committed to supporting the East Timorese people in achieving the independence they deserve. It is particularly good that we now have a date, and that date will give us all a target to which we can work.

The Secretary-General's report is a particularly well-argued, well-researched and very worthwhile document. The establishment of an integrated mission task force within the Secretariat, as recommended by the Brahimi report on peace operations, has helped to contribute to that process.

Here, too, there may be useful lessons learned in the context of other future and current United Nations operations and the way we prepare for them.

I hope very much that, as we refine the recommendations about the structure of the post-independence United Nations presence over the next few months, the Secretariat will take advantage of these mechanisms, these new working procedures, to build on what is already a pretty good basis.

We are very happy to endorse the Secretary-General's recommendations in the Presidential Statement today. We believe that a premature withdrawal of the international presence from East Timor could have a destabilizing effect. We, therefore, fully endorse the concept of a continued but reduced United Nations presence up to, and through, the initial independence period. We welcome the Secretary-General's recognition that a clear exit strategy must also be in place.

We also support the recommendation that a number of key civilian positions to support the East Timorese administration should be funded from assessed contributions for a limited period after independence. These core functions, for which local expertise does not yet exist, will be crucial to the stability and functioning of the new government in the early months of independence.

It is because the move from UNTAET to post-independence United Nations presence is so unique that we can on this occasion accept consideration of funding from assessed contributions for civilian personnel working in support of the Timorese. But, looking ahead, I am sure everyone would agree that the key objective should be to provide some assurance to the new nation of East Timor so that it will have the support it needs to carry on and get through. I hope that the use of assessed contributions for these posts in this period will not discourage others from coming forward with voluntary contributions to the post-independence East Timor that will clearly be very necessary. It is clearly in the interests of everyone, not least the East Timorese people themselves, to move to more conventional methods of development assistance, as soon as is sustainable and not before.

Our agreement to the funding of a certain number of core civil posts extends to those recommended for the Serious Crimes Unit. During the Security Council mission to East Timor last year, members of the

mission were extremely concerned about the serious crimes issues, and I am very pleased to have heard today of the action that Mr. Vieira de Mello has taken in respect of that operation. It clearly has a very important role, both in terms of justice and in terms of national reconciliation, and we welcome the progress that has been made both by UNTAET and by the Indonesian authorities in bringing to account those responsible for crimes in East Timor during the dark days immediately following the referendum. We particularly welcome the decision by President Megawati in August to extend the jurisdiction of the Indonesian ad hoc tribunals, and we look forward to Indonesia setting up these courts as a matter of urgency.

Mr. President, you have asked me to be brief, so I will be. I would simply conclude with another expression of compliment and satisfaction to UNTAET and to the East Timorese people and with the best wishes of the United Kingdom for the remaining months ahead up until 20 May and to the people of East Timor for beyond.

The President: I intend to suspend the meeting at 1.15 p.m. and to recommence at 3.00 p.m., so we have time for one or two more speakers before we suspend for lunch.

Mr. Cunningham (United States): Mr. President, let me congratulate you and your delegation for Ireland's outstanding leadership of the Council during this presidency. It is good to see you here. I want to thank Mr. Vieira de Mello also for his briefing and for his tireless and admirable efforts and those of his team in East Timor.

We believe that Mr. Alkatiri's participation today is particularly important, because it is the first time the Council hears from an elected East Timorese leader. This is a significant milestone. I also want to thank the briefers from the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Their presence illustrates that East Timor is not just a Council responsibility, and that the concept of responsibility, shared among principal interacting players, which will be referred to in the Presidential Statement later on, exists already in practice.

We welcomed the Secretary-General's report on East Timor. The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), working with the East Timorese, has done very serious work, and it shows. The United States joins other Council members in endorsing the Secretary-General's proposals for the way ahead, both the transition from now until independence and the plan for a successor mission. We endorse these recommendations in the context of our support for UNTAET as a continuing international presence, for UNTAET's ongoing downsizing and for the United Nations initial work on a reasonable and rational exit strategy.

I would like particularly to welcome the work that the United Nations Development Programme did in support of UNTAET, making a technical assessment to determine which civilian posts were priority positions for political stability to be included in the limited core to be financed from assessed contributions for periods ranging from six to 24 months.

Many people talk about East Timor as a United Nations success story or talk about how we need to invest more to ensure that East Timor is a success, and we agree. I would like to encourage the Council, the United Nations and the East Timorese themselves to agree that a good definition of ultimate success will be when the last United Nations staff members leave and an independent and stable East Timor stands up on its own. To get there, the United Nations and the East Timorese will need to work with the widest range of bilateral donors and interested agencies to ensure that, as the extraordinary measures financed through peacekeeping progressively diminish within two years, other appropriate mechanisms of support are in place.

I would like to stress to Minister Alkatiri that the East Timorese must help this process by focusing on a democratic, harmonious and peaceful way forward, practicing fiscal responsibility and programmatic rigour, capturing as much as the United Nations and others can teach and setting the right priorities. UNTAET must help this process by staying on schedule with the downsizing it has set for itself between now and independence and by working even harder to develop and implement the big picture of how the United Nations efforts fit in with those of other actors and in the near future by elaborating its plan for getting, starting on independence day, to a goal of zero or near zero peacekeeping finance support by mid-2004. If we can all do that, we can truly talk about a United Nations success story and a success story for the people of East Timor as well.

Mr. Ouane (Mali) *(spoke in French)*: Mr. Minister, the delegation of Mali is pleased that the Security Council, under your guidance, is studying the Secretary-General's report on the situation in East Timor.

It is a pleasure once again for my delegation to welcome Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General. I thank him for his comments in complement to the excellent report of the Secretary-General before us.

My delegation associates itself with the words of welcome addressed to the remarkable delegation from East Timor, led by Mr. Mari Alkatiri, Chief Minister of the Second Transitional Government of East Timor. We are, of course, pleased to note the presence at this meeting of Mr. Mats Karlsson, Vice-President of the World Bank, and of Mr. Zephirin Diabre, Associate Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, and we thank them for their contributions today.

I will heed your appeal for brevity, Sir, and simply make two comments. First, I wish to emphasize that Mali is pleased to note the political progress made to date towards the establishment of an independent State of East Timor through the election of 88 members of the Constituent Assembly, the creation of an all-East Timorese Council of Ministers, the establishment of a Timorese Administration, the enhancement of security measures, the provision of public services and the reconstruction of infrastructure. These results have certainly been obtained thanks to the efforts of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) to bolster the contribution and direct participation of the people of East Timor in the administration of the country. They also attest to the great political maturity of the people of East Timor as they move towards independence.

My second comment relates to the most important challenge before us: guaranteeing the viability of the future independent State. We hope that all will be done to help East Timor embark on independence. In that context, we support the Secretary-General's recommendation that a substantial international presence be maintained in East Timor after it accedes to independence. Indeed, the international community is duty-bound to accompany the new State in its first steps, particularly by providing it with all necessary assistance in administration and finance and by guaranteeing its security.

In the same vein, we encourage the relevant international and bilateral partners, particularly the Bretton Woods institutions and United Nations funds and programmes, to provide increased assistance to East Timor after it accedes to independence. The information provided by Mr. Karlsson and Mr. Diabre is encouraging in that regard.

In conclusion, I pay tribute to Mr. Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for East Timor, and to the entire UNTAET team for their dedication in conducting this operation, unprecedented in United Nations history, to its proper conclusion. We appreciate their impressive efforts to build an independent, democratic and economically viable East Timor. We fully endorse the presidential statement to be issued at the conclusion of this meeting.

Mr. Kolby (Norway): I welcome you to New York, Sir, and thank you for presiding over this meeting. I congratulate Ireland on its achievements during its presidency of the Security Council.

I would also like to thank Mr. Vieira de Mello and the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) for their considerable achievements in East Timor so far. I should also like to say how pleased we are to see Mari Alkatiri and members of the Transitional Government attending this meeting of the Security Council. Norway extends its full support to the East Timorese Cabinet as it prepares for independence, as we have heard, on 20 May next year.

In recent months, East Timor has gone through a period of historic political developments. In addition, significant progress has been made in the field of social and economic development and in establishing a functioning Public Administration. The challenges ahead are now to protect and build upon these achievements so that the nation-building project can be completed. This will require a substantial international and United Nations presence after independence.

Norway fully endorses the recommendations regarding the establishment of an integrated United Nations mission post-UNTAET. We believe that the exact mandate of the successor mission should allow

for the completion of the mandate entrusted to UNTAET.

When discussing the downsizing of the military and civilian police components exceeding the proposals contained in the report now before us, a great deal of caution will be required. We must always keep in mind the need to contribute to national and regional stability. Needless to say, the military and police presence should reflect the security situation on the ground at any given time. Moreover, the downsizing of the civilian police component should not jeopardize the crucial task of building capacity within the East Timor Police Service, aimed at transforming it into a fully accountable and professional institution.

In order to prevent a gap in resource allocations and to ensure that key tasks within the civilian component of the successor mission are undertaken without delay, my delegation agrees with the Secretary-General's recommendation concerning assessed contributions. This is also a way for the Security Council to demonstrate that peacekeepers and peace-builders are indeed inseparable partners in efforts to establish sustainable peace. However, bilateral and multilateral donors, as well as the international financial institutions, will also have to contribute their share to the peace-building efforts.

The prospects for long-term security and stability are closely linked to the question of accountability and reconciliation. It is therefore of vital importance that this Council renew its commitment to the task of bringing to justice, in a manner consistent with international standards of fair trial and due process, those responsible for serious crimes committed in 1999. Moreover, it is crucial that the future State of East Timor be firmly rooted in the rule of law and respect for citizens' rights. I would therefore express Norway's full support for the recommendation of including a strong human rights presence within the framework of the successor mission.

Full justice for the people of East Timor can be achieved only when individuals residing in Indonesia who are suspected in relation to crimes committed in East Timor are also brought to justice. In this regard, we welcome the announcement by the Indonesian Government that trials are to begin in December this year. However, to avoid any danger of institutionalizing impunity for a number of suspects, we reiterate our call on the Indonesian authorities to furnish the ad hoc tribunal with the jurisdiction required to prosecute all serious crimes committed in East Timor from January through October 1999.

With regard to the establishment of a civil administration in East Timor, Norway is pleased to note that the process of "Timorization" has continued over the last months. By mid-September, UNTAET had recruited some 9,500 civil servants and the number of women had increased to 25 of the total staff. While we welcome the progress made, we urge UNTAET to continue its efforts to increase the number of women employed at all levels within the civil administration. We would also like to underline the need for continued efforts in the field of training and capacity-building of civil servants.

It is also of vital importance for the security and the sustainable environment in the region that strong and peaceful relations between East Timor and the Republic of Indonesia continue to be developed. Reconciliation and enhanced cooperation between the two countries are fundamental prerequisites. In this regard, we warmly welcome the contacts which have already been established at the political level.

In conclusion, as stated in the Secretary-General's report, East Timor will also be in need of substantial international assistance after independence. In this regard, Norway is committed to continue to contribute its share. As a means to fully assist and complement the United Nations peace operation, it is of crucial importance that we move towards a long-term development assistance framework as quickly as possible. My delegation valued the in-depth discussions in this regard during the Canberra donors' meeting in June, and we hope that these discussions will continue in a fruitful manner during the December donors' meeting in Oslo hosted by my Government.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I would like to welcome you here, Mr. Minister, and thank you for participating in this meeting. Through you, I would also like to commend the Irish Mission, particularly Ambassador Ryan, for their dedication and the very efficient way in which they have organized our meetings during the month of October. I would also like to welcome the participation in this meeting of Mr. Alkatiri, Chief Minister of the Second Transitional Government, and the representatives of the World Bank and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). I would like once more to welcome Sergio Vieira de

Mello, and reiterate our appreciation for his successful leadership.

Without a doubt, the work of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) allows us to speak of a success story of the United Nations, which contributed to the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize. This success should be confirmed by our commitment to the culmination of the United Nations presence in East Timor.

I would like to thank you, Mr. Vieira de Mello, for your statement, and I would like to highlight a few points. First, the elections marked the crucial moment in the process of the East Timorese really taking charge of their own future. This fills us with genuine democratic pride, if I may put it that way.

Secondly, we are now entering a very important stage — the next 200 days before the date set for independence. This period will make many demands on the United Nations and will call for painstaking work by the multilateral bodies. But, above all, it will place greater obligations on the East Timorese before they take full responsibility for their governing institutions. It is therefore essential to ensure that all these efforts are coordinated, which UNTAET will continue to do.

Another point that Mr. Vieira de Mello made relates to the need for proper justice for crimes committed, particularly the most serious offences. We have all recently heard many calls for ad hoc courts or mechanisms to ensure that perpetrators of such crimes are held responsible. This campaign and this activism confirm how important it is to do away with impunity. However, in our opinion, we must focus our efforts on the functioning and strengthening of existing institutions and those that are to be created. In our view, justice and reconciliation should be fully compatible. Without proper justice being done, we cannot set out on the road to true coexistence. The Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation commissions is very useful.

We also agree on having systems that work well and speedily — for example, plea-bargaining systems for certain offences. This is an exceptional situation in which investigations should be carried out and sentences handed down as quickly as possible. But for the most serious crimes, the work of the Transitional Administration and the future Government is extremely important, as the Secretary-General's report states.

Progress has been made in this area, including the remarkable action on the crime of extermination, which is truly novel. Much more needs to be done. We need a high level of international cooperation, with emphasis on what the authorities of Indonesia have done and should continue to do.

My delegation endorses the recommendations in the report now before us, in particular those on the establishment of the successor peacekeeping mission, headed by a special representative of the Secretary-General and consisting of a military component, a civilian police component and a civilian component. We agree that the civilian component will be essential to ensure the proper functioning of the Government in the period immediately after independence. It is clear to my delegation that the financing of the civilian component should not be based on voluntary contributions, which, as the report indicates, are fewer and fewer. We have noted that UNTAET will do whatever is necessary to adapt its size and shape to existing needs and to be able to carry out a smooth, harmonious transition to a post-independence United Nations presence. It is clear that the mandate of UNTAET will have to be extended until East Timor's independence is declared.

Finally, we are convinced that a hasty, premature winding down of the international presence could have destabilizing effects on the future of this new country. We do not want to have a bad beginning. East Timor must receive the support it needs in order to come together as a new State fully capable of participating in the community of nations.

The President: A number of speakers remain on the list. With the concurrence of the members of the Council, I will suspend the meeting now. The Council will resume the discussion of this item at 3 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 1.25 p.m.

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4403rd meeting

Wednesday, 31 October 2001, 3 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Cowen	(Ireland)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Mauritius	Mr. Gokool
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation in East Timor

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (S/2001/983 and Corr.1).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-61268 (E)

The meeting resumed at 3.15 p.m.

The President: I thank colleagues for both the substance and the brevity of their contributions this morning. As many as 20 speakers remain for this afternoon, so I shall ask for continued cooperation in that regard.

Mr. Amin (Bangladesh): It is an honour, Mr. President, to have Your Excellency presiding over this meeting. Your presence signifies the importance that the Council attaches to the United Nations mission in East Timor and to the future of that country.

We all hail the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his outstanding leadership of the United Nations mission in East Timor. Together with the people and the leadership of East Timor, he has presented us with a remarkable success story, as has been mentioned by previous speakers.

Let me also take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Chief Minister of the Second Transitional Government of East Timor, Mr. Mari Alkatiri, the first elected leader of East Timor to address the Security Council, as Ambassador Cunningham said earlier. We also recognize with high appreciation the participation of the representatives of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and of the World Bank, vital partners in the United Nations mission in East Timor.

I shall try to be extremely brief. The presidential statement that will be issued following this meeting will broadly reflect our views. I shall speak on five specific points.

The first, as the Secretary-General underlined in his report (S/2001/983), is the need for strong regional relationships. In that context, we pay tribute to President Megawati Soekarnoputri for her initiative regarding the meetings held on 12 September. We call on the leadership of Indonesia and of East Timor to follow up the meetings of 12 September with a view to resolving outstanding matters, including border issues, transit between the Oecussi enclave and East Timor and cultural cooperation.

Secondly, we stress the need for a strong, functioning civil administration. This, as the Secretary-General says, will be key to the fate of the country in the post-independence period. We in Bangladesh went through such an experience following our independence on 16 December 1971. The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) has made substantive progress in putting in place the essential elements of an East Timorese public administration. This needs to be supported and the progress sustained.

Thirdly, public finances and critical areas of the civilian administration need the support of the international community. We are confident that the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank are fully seized of the matter. The loss of revenue, including from service taxes and import duties, that will follow the downsizing of UNTAET, should be factored into the planning of support for public finances.

Special attention will need to be paid to donor support for the two primary trust funds — the trust fund for the national budget and the trust fund for capital investment and recovery. A key element in ensuring a minimum level of international backstopping is the provision of assured assistance. We, like others in the Council, believe that United Nations support to the East Timorese Government should be provided through assessed contributions — a cardinal point in the report of the Secretary-General, and one that he reiterated to us this morning. At the same time, the bilateral donors, international financial institutions, funds and programmes should fulfil their pledges early in terms of supplementing United Nations efforts.

That brings me to the specific issue of the efficient management of public finances. The East Timorese leadership should be encouraged to pay particular attention to this aspect. The Security Council has been grappling with some post-conflict peace-building situations affected by the management factor. Employment, especially for young people, is critically important in a post-conflict scenario. The lack of employment for young people after independence may spoil the prospects for success. We have seen the impact of unemployed youth in our national context; that is a part of our history.

The independence of East Timor must not be derailed by a creeping sense of frustration or disillusionment. As the economy of East Timor is structured on a new premise, Bangladesh would like to stress the importance of indigenous solutions in

addressing Timorese socio-economic development. For our part, the Grameen Bank is already assisting the Timorese to initiate microcredit programmes for poverty eradication and empowerment, particularly of women. Such civil-society-based indigenous approaches, adapted to the Timorese context, could yield positive results in other social sectors, including in areas like basic education and health care. This would also contribute positively to building East Timorese capacities, which is a primary objective of the international community.

We were happy to note the Chief Minister's statement that legislative issues relating to microcredit banks are currently being revised. We would appreciate it if the Special Representative of the Secretary-General would elaborate on how UNTAET sees the viability of such quick impact projects in bolstering subsistence agriculture in East Timor.

My fifth point relates to transition and the UNTAET successor mission. Bangladesh endorses the Secretary-General's recommendations for the transition and the plan for the successor mission. We are particularly happy that the Council's stress on a sound exit strategy has been reflected in the plan presented by the Secretary-General.

Finally, we look forward to 20 May 2002 — 200 days from now — when we can join the people of East Timor in celebrating their independence. We look forward to welcoming them among the community of nations. Bangladesh remains committed to continuing to work with the people of East Timor, within our modest capacity and means, up to that date and beyond.

Mr. Jerandi (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): I should like first of all to express the satisfaction of my delegation at seeing you, Mr. Minister, presiding over this meeting of the Security Council today. We would also like to welcome Mr. Mari Alkatiri, and to express to him Tunisia's support for all that is being accomplished in East Timor. Our thanks also go to the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme for their commitment to East Timor in particular, and to the consolidation of peace in general throughout the world.

I should also like to thank Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for his statement on developments in the situation in East Timor and on the progress achieved with regard to a post-independence international presence. I should also like to express once again the satisfaction of my delegation with his remarkable accomplishments in East Timor, and to thank him for the honour that he has brought to our Organization.

I would like to begin by stressing how important it is for us to support the recommendations of the Secretary-General regarding the form that a post-independence United Nations presence should take. The most important requirement is to preserve what the United Nations, its institutions, non-governmental organizations and the entire international community have already achieved in that country. We must continue to provide such support, especially during the next stage, which will be just as important as those that have gone before, with a view to laying a solid foundation for a new East Timorese society.

We believe that two concepts in particular are extremely important when we take decisions intended to promote the well-being and stability of that country: exit strategy and peace-building. We are convinced that we must not be hasty in disengaging from East Timor. We therefore call upon all the parties to give their support to a progressive process that will lead to the establishment of a stable, democratic State, with the assistance of the United Nations, donor countries and, in particular, the countries of the region, whose role is very important for subregional stability and security. We support the Secretary-General's request to extend the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor until independence is declared, in order to ensure continuity in our efforts. My delegation is pleased to endorse the recommendation of the Constituent Assembly that stipulates that East Timor will become independent on 20 May 2002.

To that end, we support the structuring of the tasks to be accomplished by United Nations personnel over a period of at least two years after East Timor becomes independent. We expect the tasks defined in paragraphs 61 and 76 of the Secretary-General's report to be gradually transferred to the Timorese, so that in due course they will be able to take charge of their own destiny in all fields, as described by Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello in his statement.

Of course, the integration of East Timor into its own regional environment is of great importance. It must have cooperative relations, especially with Indonesia, and — as Indonesian and Timorese leaders have said — those relations must be forward-looking.

There are many historical, human and economic factors in favour of a shared destiny for the two countries. We should encourage them to move forward in that endeavour.

Mr. Krokhmal (Ukraine): Like previous speakers, I wish to welcome you, Mr. Minister, as you preside over today's meetings of the Security Council. We are also pleased to see here the Chief Minister of the Second Transitional Government of East Timor, Mr. Alkatiri, and are grateful for his important statement. Let me thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his usual comprehensive briefing.

We believe that the report of the Secretary-General and his video address today to the Security Council complement one another, providing a deep analysis of the long-term tasks that lie ahead of the East Timorese and the United Nations on the way towards independence for East Timor. In view of the long list of speakers we have today, I shall confine myself to a few remarks, in particular in respect of the concept of a further international presence in East Timor.

We cannot but mention that significant progress has been in the implementation of key elements of the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), including the transition to independence, the establishment of a public administration and the creation of a stable security environment. We are encouraged that much progress has been achieved in the field of economic and social development, in the health and education sector in East Timor and in the building of the East Timorese civil service. In this regard, I would like to pay tribute to the UNTAET staff for their efforts, and personally to the Special Representative, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his able and effective leadership of the mission.

At the same time, there should be no doubt that once independent, East Timor will still require further substantial international support in many areas in order to ensure security in the country and the viability and stability of its government structures. We believe that such support could be provided through an integrated successor mission mandated by the Security Council. We need a comprehensive, realistic and lasting concept of this mission, based on the recent conditions and the future needs and aspirations of the East Timorese — first of all, in those areas requiring ongoing support. In this context, we endorse the valuable recommendations contained in the recent report of the Secretary-General.

We are of the opinion that the Security Council's strategies in East Timor will require the inclusion in the successor mission of military, civilian police and civilian components. Security requires, in effect, a police and military presence. We feel it is essential that such a presence be proportionate to the security risks and threats that might exist on the ground. We therefore support the need for a continuing force, the size of which has to be determined, to maintain a secure environment. The peacekeeping force should be highly mobile, with the ability to counter an external threat and provide security support to attend to trouble spots inside the country. We believe that a peacekeeping force will continue to operate in close coordination with the East Timor Defence Force to maintain a secure environment, with a particular emphasis on a robust presence in the border areas.

It is important to enable the East Timorese to play an increasingly greater role in enforcing public safety and in defence of East Timor's borders. We are of the view that the United Nations has to stage its drawdown in step with the gradual establishment of the East Timor Defence Force and the East Timorese police. The raising of the Timorese infantry battalion and the opening of the training facility are significant achievements. The establishment of an effective East Timorese police force is a crucial element that needs to be developed. To my mind, the role of the civilian police component is greatly increasing, and the main objective of the civilian police component will be to promote the capacity of the East Timor police force and to endorse institutional structures in the field. We agree with the Secretary-General that the substantial strength of the United Nations civilian police should be maintained until East Timor police are fully trained and deployed.

Although great strides have been made towards the Timorization of UNTAET, for certain critical areas of government, local expertise does not exist, and the civilian professional staff need to remain within a successor mission to provide key assistance to the new Government. It is our view that the strengthening of national justice, human rights structures and capacities can be an important element in ensuring the stability of the achievements of the peacekeeping operations in East Timor after its withdrawal. These areas will need the particular attention of a successor mission. It is

right and important that adequate and timely funding be available for both military and civilian components.

We are convinced that a substantial international presence will include a wider range of United Nations agencies and programmes engaged in East Timor, as well as other international financial institutions and donors. This morning we listened carefully to the important statements by the representatives of the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme outlining the involvement of their institutions in East Timor. We consider their participation very useful in the Security Council discussions on future strategies for peace-building.

I would like to end by looking ahead. We must carefully consider the timing and consequences of a reduction of the international presence in East Timor. Our exit strategy should be greatly dependent on progress in capacity-building, especially in the areas of the police, the justice system, institutional capacity and long-term security in East Timor.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Ireland.

I welcome Mr. Vieira de Mello here today and express my deep appreciation for his personal commitment, and that of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), to assisting in the transition of East Timor and to developing detailed plans for the future United Nations presence there. I thank Mr. Karlsson of the World Bank and Mr. Diabre of the United Nations Development Programme for their useful and informative interventions. I welcome in particular Mr. Alkatiri, Mr. Borges and Mr. de Araújo. Like them and the brave people they represent, Ireland warmly anticipates the day when, instead of being visitors in the Security Council, East Timor will take its rightful place in the General Assembly of this world Organization.

The Permanent Representative of Belgium will later make a statement on behalf of the European Union; Ireland agrees fully with that statement.

Ireland applauds the dignity and integrity with which the Timorese people performed their most recent collective act of self-determination: the national elections in August. They have drawn strength from international support to create their own new political dispensation. Next 20 May, they will join together in formally declaring and celebrating their independence. We will all wish to share in the joy and hope for the future which will be born on that occasion.

The United Nations has helped a nation to rise to its feet, but we must walk with it a bit longer before returning home. This Organization will have a vital role in maintaining progress in East Timor towards an effective administration and full independence for the first time after four centuries of external rule. At this critical time, we cannot be seen to diminish our responsibility and commitment to this capacity-building process.

The Irish Government supports the recent report of the Secretary-General and agrees with his assessment that a premature withdrawal of the international presence could have a destabilizing effect in a number of crucial areas. We agree that the United Nations must remain engaged in East Timor in order to protect the major achievements so far realized, and we believe that a substantial international presence will be necessary up to and after independence.

To underpin this commitment, we endorse fully the Secretary-General's recommendations for an integrated mission mandated by the Security Council. This should comprise military, civilian police and civilian components, and include provision for vital human rights and justice elements. The downsizing of UNTAET and the international presence should be phased only in line with the development of local capacity. I am pleased that an Irish troop contingent will continue to serve with UNTAET and its successor mission.

Support for East Timor in its post-independence phase should be by the United Nations membership as a whole, and we believe strongly, therefore, that a successor mission should be funded from assessed contributions. Even with political progress, East Timor's economic prospects are such that it will be essential to maintain significant aid flows to its fiscal base. We commend the enormous advances already made by East Timor in key sectors, with the support of the United Nations and World Bank trust funds, the development banks and other members of the international donor community.

The development of East Timor must be driven by the wishes of its people and not by donor priorities. Close coordination will be necessary between the United Nations development bodies, principally UNDP, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and

bilateral donors to ensure that resources are used effectively and coherently in support of local capacity-building. Bilaterally, Ireland has planned to double its aid allocation to East Timor next year.

Our task for the next few years will be to facilitate the emergence of a strong and vibrant nation — one that has been built by the people and for the people. East Timor needs our commitment, during the critical period of transition to independence, to its achieving full political, economic and social freedom. We should rise to the challenge and engage with the people of East Timor in delivering their future.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

The next speaker is the representative of Belgium. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. De Loecker (Belgium) (*spoke in French*): Allow me, Mr. President, on behalf of the European Union, to extend to you a very warm welcome to New York and in particular to welcome your presence here as you preside over the Security Council during this crucial debate.

I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — and the associated countries of Cyprus, Malta and Turkey, as well as the European Free Trade Association countries members of the European Economic Area — Iceland and Liechtenstein — align themselves with this statement.

First of all, I should first like very warmly to welcome the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and once again to offer him our warm congratulations for the work he has done to date as head of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). We are particularly pleased to note the presence here of several members of the Transitional Government who were democratically elected to the Constituent Assembly, and we extend a warm welcome to the Chief Minister, Mr. Mari Alkatiri; his Minister for Finance, Ms. Fernanda Borges, and his Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Mr. Fernando de Araujo. The European Union takes this unique opportunity to assure them, with confidence and conviction, of its support in the exercise of their duties.

The people of East Timor are living in remarkable and very stimulating times. Their elected representatives in the Assembly have begun the process of drafting the Constitution of the future State. As the Special Representative of the Secretary-General has just confirmed, that work is going well and they are making good headway. The European Union welcomes this. It is important that the views of the Timorese people, as set out in the reports of the district Constitutional Commissions of June and July this year, before the electoral campaign, be reflected in the finalized draft Constitution.

We welcome the decision taken by the Constituent Assembly, further recommended by the Secretary-General, to schedule for next May the transfer of UNTAET's powers of sovereignty to the Government of the State of East Timor. That will give the Timorese time to ensure a smooth transition and to allow for the gradual, but necessary, stabilization of administrative structures.

The likely holding of the first presidential elections of the new State will be another important step towards democracy and the construction of a viable nation. We agree with the Secretary-General that the elections should take place before the declaration of independence, so that, before it leaves, UNTAET can ensure that the elections go smoothly.

The continuing activities of the militias in West Timor remain one of our principal concerns. We are pleased to note, however, the increase in the number of refugees who are returning to East Timor. We underline the importance of a swift conclusion of a memorandum of understanding between the United Nations and the Indonesian Government to allow for the return of humanitarian agencies, so that they can assist in the repatriation efforts.

We thank the Secretary-General for drawing up plans for the future international presence in East Timor. The European Union has taken due note of the suggested reduction in the size of its military, civilian police and civil administration components. That reconfiguration, proposed following numerous consultations with the representatives of the Timorese people, should make it possible for the principal needs of the people to be met once independence has been declared. The Union therefore endorses the Secretary-

General's recommendations for an integrated mission and looks forward to his further recommendations.

The European Union hopes that the dialogue between UNTAET, the Secretariat, the Timorese people and all the other actors involved in East Timor will continue, in order to ensure the progressive adaptation of UNTAET and a painless transition to its successor mission, in line with the needs of the people.

As the Secretary-General emphasized in his report, the departure of United Nations staff will have a negative impact on Timor's economy. The international community must ensure that this impact is minimized, and the working group's recommendations on the subject are expected shortly.

In future the international presence must continue the considerable efforts under way in the area of reconstruction. The European Union will participate in these efforts, in cooperation with the international financial institutions and all of the actors involved. The European Union will continue to attach particular importance to the process of national reconciliation.

It is indispensable that the perpetrators of the serious crimes committed in 1999 be brought to justice. Training of staff and future civil servants of the State of Timor in criminal and administrative justice and of the Serious Crimes Unit is crucial in this respect. We reiterate our call for the Jakarta authorities to conclude the appeals proceedings in the case of the murder last year of three Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees workers in Atambua.

Reconstruction efforts will also have to address the improvement of health-care and education services as well as the rehabilitation of transport networks, so that the living conditions of the Timorese can gradually return to normal. The European Commission, which hosted the donors' conference last December, is currently finalizing its strategy aimed at supporting development efforts in East Timor in the medium and long term.

UNTAET's success is undeniable, and the ground that has been covered since autumn 1999 is remarkable. The international community must also ensure the success of the process of UNTAET's departure and the transition to an international presence that will be both effective and efficient in its reconstruction efforts. The United Nations Secretariat and its various departments have the European Union's full support in this task and in planning the next stages.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Portugal. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Seixas da Costa (Portugal): Portugal fully supports the previous statement, delivered by the representative of Belgium, Ambassador Stéphane De Loecker, on behalf of the presidency of the European Union. As many of our views are contained in that statement, I will focus on specific points to which my country attaches particular importance at this juncture.

Allow me at the outset, Mr. President, to underline and to welcome your presence here today as an expression of the importance Ireland has always attached to East Timor. For many years I had the privilege of witnessing the commitment of your country, and your personal commitment in particular, to this question, and it is for me a very happy occasion to see you here today presiding over this meeting.

I would like to start by conveying Portugal's deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his report on East Timor. His recommendations set out clearly the way for a smooth and gradual transfer of responsibilities from the United Nations to the legitimate Timorese authorities.

The Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello — whose excellent work deserves all our gratitude and has been an important factor of prestige for the United Nations — gave us his reading of the facts, and we are very grateful for that. I would like to subscribe *mot par mot* to what my colleague, the Permanent Representative of France, Jean-David Levitte, said about the role of Sergio Vieira de Mello, about the quality of his work and his outstanding contribution to the prestige of this Organization.

The Council also had the opportunity to hear Chief Minister Mari Alkatiri, head of the Timorese delegation, which also includes the Minister of Finance, Ms. Fernanda Borges, and the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Fernando Araujo. I hope his briefing on the situation on the ground has helped the Security Council to make a better assessment of how the things are and what must be done in order to prepare the road for independence. I think his realism, but also his vision, represent a clear

guarantee that the Timorese affairs will remain in good hands.

I also want to thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunity to listen to presentations by the representatives of the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which have played and will continue to play a very important role in the transition of East Timor to independence.

Portugal has several times before commended the work of the Timorese and the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). The progress achieved in areas as diverse as the rehabilitation of infrastructure, the reopening of schools, the provision of basic health care, the setting up of a civil service and the establishment of police and armed forces is remarkable and truly impressive. We believe that such progress has set East Timor on a successful path to independence, and we hope this course can be maintained and sustained. The engagement and support of the Security Council as a whole, and its members individually, has been fundamental in achieving such results. We trust the Council will continue to support this effort and make East Timor a positive precedent for the future of United Nations operations.

I cannot overemphasise the importance of ensuring sustainable peace and security in East Timor, especially in the light of the present international situation. That region of the world has enough factors of instability, and we should not create the conditions for more to arise.

Resolution 1272 (1999) clearly states that the mandate of UNTAET consists of the following elements:

> "to provide security and maintain law and order throughout the territory of East Timor; to establish an effective administration; to assist in the development of civil and social services; to ensure the coordination and delivery of humanitarian assistance, rehabilitation and development assistance; to support capacity-building for self-government; to assist in the establishment of conditions for sustainable development".

This mandate was unprecedented in scope and complexity. In spite of UNTAET's tireless effort, these tasks will not have been completed by the time of independence. The overall security and political situation will still be fragile. Therefore, it is vital to safeguard and build upon the progress achieved in order not to jeopardize the enormous investment made by the international community and, in particular, by the Timorese themselves, including in terms of human lives.

This Council, in fact, has already acknowledged this fact by stressing, on several occasions, the need for a substantial international presence in East Timor after independence.

Allow me now to focus on the specific proposals put forward by the Secretary-General in his report. We understand that these proposals still need to be refined. Further planning will need to be made in the light of the outcome of the Constituent Assembly, the views of the all-Timorese Transitional Cabinet, coordination among all international actors, and the security developments on the ground. But we strongly believe that the report of the Secretary-General contains the right framework for the future presence of the United Nations in East Timor. As a major troop-contributing country, Portugal fully supports the Secretary-General's plans for the establishment of an integrated mission, with a military, police and civilian component, including a civilian unit to support the future independent Government.

We believe both the numbers and timing proposed by the Secretary-General for reductions in all components are rational and sensible. His recommendations for the post-independence period are achievable within the foreseeable future, which is more than can be said of other United Nations operations. They are also affordable, as the amounts involved will be reasonably small, especially if we think that this may be the only success story for the United Nations in recent years. Most of all, they are absolutely indispensable to insuring the fulfilment of UNTAET's mandate and avoiding jeopardizing everything that has been achieved until now.

In considering the future of East Timor and the United Nations role in it, it is fundamental to address the question of justice and human rights. We welcome the progress made so far both in the establishment of a Timorese judiciary and in the setting up of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. We also welcome the progress made in the investigation of the serious crimes committed in East Timor in the course of 1999.

However, efforts in this area need to continue, as they are fundamental for the long-term political and social stability in the country. Portugal therefore supports the Secretary-General's plans to include in the post-independence United Nations mission a serious crimes unit and a strong human rights presence throughout the territory.

Portugal hopes this Council can agree on endorsing the recommendations put forward by the Secretary-General for the post-independence mission in East Timor. Anything short of that would risk conveying a very negative message to the Timorese, to the United Nations on the ground and to the region. I trust that that is not what the Council wants at this point.

The United Nations success in East Timor will not be measured just by its achievements in the three or four years in which it was present in the country. Rather, it will be judged in the light of the sustainability of those achievements, especially of the administration and institutional framework it leaves behind.

As the Secretary-General rightly pointed out in his report "Ultimately, the responsibility to establish a viable state in East Timor clearly belongs to its people." We couldn't agree more. The Timorese have fought for years to gain their independence. They have demonstrated enormous courage and political maturity. They have shown they want to be responsible for their own destiny and have the capacity for that But they have also asked for our support — a modest support, actually, in face of the daunting tasks ahead of them. It is a duty for us, the United Nations, to assist them in that endeavour. It is for this Council simply to act according to the responsibilities entrusted to it by the Charter of the United Nations.

The President: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

Mr. Akasaka (Japan): I would like to express, on behalf of the Japanese Government, our gratitude to you, Mr. President, for travelling from Ireland to New York in order to chair today's public meeting on the situation in East Timor. We sincerely appreciate the leadership of Ireland on this important matter.

My appreciation also goes to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and to the Chief Minister of the Transitional Government of East Timor and the other members of the delegation for their presence at this meeting today.

At the outset, I would like to thank Secretary-General Annan for putting together the report on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). The Government of Japan welcomes this report, which is the valuable result of the work done in New York and in Dili over the past several months.

It would have been desirable if the report had been more detailed with regard to the shape of the United Nations presence in the post-independence period. But we understand well that making accurate assessments of the situation on the ground and drawing up an optimal and feasible plan based on those assessments are not easy tasks. I am therefore grateful to Mr. Vieira de Mello, who has provided us today with additional details to supplement the Secretary-General's report.

It is important that the Security Council provide, at an early date, as clear an indication as possible with respect to the continued presence of the United Nations in the post-independence period. This is necessary in order to give assurance and encouragement to the people of East Timor, as well as to those countries which have a strong interest in the political stability and economic and social development of East Timor.

As rightly pointed out in the Secretary-General's report, the follow-on mission should include a military component, a civilian police component and a component for civil administration. In this context, the Government of Japan supports the Secretary-General's concept of a United Nations mission in the post-independence period.

We hope that, based upon the further accelerated work of the Secretariat in the coming weeks, the follow-on mission will be endorsed in the form of a Security Council resolution by the end of next January, when UNTAET's mandate is to be renewed. It is advisable that discussions commence promptly on detailed and concrete plans for these components, including the level and modality of funding.

I am pleased to see that the process towards independence is making steady progress thanks to the efforts not only of the people of East Timor, but also of

the international community and the United Nations, particularly of Mr. Vieira de Mello and his entire UNTAET team. Obviously, UNTAET and the East Timorese will be required to make further efforts in order to successfully achieve independence in May next year. But the progress made so far provides all the parties concerned with a solid basis on which to plan for the future.

The efforts of the East Timorese themselves are crucially important for their nation-building in the post-independence period. After all, it is the people of East Timor themselves who are responsible for their future.

A clear sense of ownership on the part of a recipient is also essential in order to make foreign assistance truly effective for the development of the country concerned. It is evident that independent East Timor will continue to need international assistance. The donors' meeting on East Timor scheduled to be held in Oslo in December will be important in this context. The Government of Japan is ready to play a substantial role in ensuring that the meeting is productive.

But that meeting is just one, albeit important, step in the long and difficult process of nation-building that the future Government and the people of East Timor will have to pursue in the coming years. With this recognition, I would like to conclude my statement by assuring the people of East Timor that the Government of Japan will remain a partner as they tackle the challenging but rewarding task of nation-building.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Australia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dauth (Australia): Let me begin by joining others in thanking you most sincerely, Mr. President, for the honour you do us in coming to preside over this very important meeting today. Thank you indeed for that. Let me also, at the outset, applaud Ireland's skilful handling of the Security Council presidency this month. It has really been a very impressive performance. It is fitting that Ireland, as a strong and consistent supporter of East Timor's peaceful transition to a stable, democratic and effective and independent State, is presiding over the Council at this important point in East Timor's transition process.

You have asked us to be brief, Mr. President. I cannot promise that mine will be as entertaining as some of the interventions this morning, but I can promise to be brief.

I want to begin, obviously, like so many others, by thanking Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for his lucid and comprehensive briefing this morning. I extend Australia's continuing thanks to him personally, and to all of the members of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), for their dedication to establishing a solid foundation for the future of East Timor. I associate myself with my French and Portuguese colleagues in saying that Sergio Vieira de Mello is an emblem of the sort of United Nations that has just won the Nobel Peace Prize.

I also acknowledge with pleasure the presence of Chief Minister Mari Alkatiri and other elected members of the East Timor Second Transitional Government. Their presence here today is vital to an effective and honest appraisal of the progress that has been made in the transition so far and of the priorities and challenges that lie ahead.

Today the Security Council has an opportunity to send an unequivocal signal to the people of East Timor and to the international community of its continuing commitment to a successful transition process in East Timor. It is Australia's firm view that this signal should take the form of a clear endorsement by the Council of the recommendations set out by the Secretary-General in his most recent report.

In that report, which we fully endorse, the Secretary-General has set out all of the elements required for an effective, timely and smooth planning process for the remainder of East Timor's transition. He has presented us with a carefully considered, moderate and responsible plan for a phased downsizing process. We hope that this will lead to a stable, democratic State in East Timor, with the meeting of long-term development needs assisted by United Nations agencies and other donor assistance.

There is no question that an adequate international military and civilian police presence will be vital to East Timor's successful transition. Australia supports the Secretary-General's detailed recommendations for these two components — a military and civilian police presence. No less important will be an effective civilian presence.

We concur strongly with the Secretary-General's view that a core component of civilian functions will be vital for a period after independence if the future East Timor administration is to survive and to function effectively. We acknowledge the extensive work undertaken by UNTAET and other agencies, including the United Nations Development Programme, to thoroughly examine the options available to fund this civilian component. We have taken close note of the limitations and risks which attach to an over-reliance on voluntary and bilateral funding options. We strongly support the use of assessed funding for the core functions which are identified by the Secretary-General as essential to the stability and functioning of government, but for which local expertise does not yet exist.

It is Australia's unequivocal view that endorsement of the Secretary-General's recommendations is necessary to enable timely and effective planning for the future United Nations role in East Timor. Unless there is a clear endorsement, we risk unnecessary ambiguity and delays. It would be far preferable for concrete decisions to be taken early to protect the United Nations already substantial investment in East Timor. The Council's endorsement of the Secretary-General's recommendations will set out for the United Nations the resources that will be available for its use in the post-independence period. It will also confirm the needs that must be met by other players. This will create the best possible chance for a smooth and seamless transition to the post-independence period. Moreover, in East Timor, the Security Council has an opportunity to give the United Nations the time it needs to plan effectively for the transition process. It must not let this opportunity pass by.

None of us want to see an open-ended United Nations presence in East Timor. Nevertheless, as the Council itself has said recently, there must be no exit without strategy. Accordingly, the Council has a responsibility to ensure that the prospect of a successful transition is not jeopardized by a precipitate downsizing of the United Nations presence in any of the core areas outlined by the Secretary-General, or by inadequate resources and unreliable funding for a post-independence United Nations mission.

Through continued careful management, and by taking the right decisions at the right time, the Security Council has the capacity to ensure the successful completion of the United Nations mandate in East Timor, and the establishment of the sort of political and security environment we have all worked so hard to achieve.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Thailand. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kasemsarn (Thailand): Allow me first to pay tribute to you and Ireland, Mr. President, for your presidency of the Security Council this month. I join others in thanking and commending Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his views on the developments and challenges that lie ahead in East Timor. I also welcome Mr. Mari Alkatiri, Chief Minister of the Second Transitional Government of East Timor, whose presence speaks volumes for the development and progress achieved in that land. I also wish to express our appreciation for the useful briefings given by the representatives of the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

There is no doubt that the United Nations, through its United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), under the outstanding leadership of Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, has effectively performed its tasks as mandated by Security Council resolution 1272 (1999). This has been well reflected in the peaceful elections for the Constituent Assembly on 30 August this year, which marked a milestone in East Timor's transition to independence.

The people of East Timor and UNTAET deserve enormous credit for their remarkable achievements, especially in the light of the harrowing destruction two years ago. We also welcome the formation of an all-East Timorese Council of Ministers to oversee the public administration of East Timor. It is with them that the will of the East Timorese resides in shaping a self-governing and independent East Timor.

We are heartened by the positive political, economic and social developments in East Timor highlighted in the Secretary-General's report. We fully support his recommendations on the successor mission to UNTAET, in which he envisages that a post-independence United Nations presence will be required in East Timor for a period of at least two years. Thailand voices its support for this proposal, not because it is one of the major troop contributors to the

Mission, but because of our cognizance of the need for the continued engagement of the international community in securing a solid foundation for the future of East Timor.

Despite the enormous strides, the emerging of East Timor as a nation-State still needs the unwavering support and cooperation of the international community. Let us not be hasty in withdrawing our attention and responsibility from East Timor upon its attainment of independence. UNTAET's tasks, which are to establish a national civil administration, assist in the development of civil and social services and support capacity-building for self-government, among others, as laid out in resolution 1272 (1999) are far from being completed. They will not have been completed at the time of independence, as has been recognized by the Secretary-General.

The Thai delegation has emphasised on many occasions, and reiterates today, that the support of the United Nations and the international community in capacity-building is of the utmost priority for the East Timorese to attain self-sustenance in the political, economic, social and cultural development of the country. It is therefore imperative that we assist in every way possible in equipping the East Timorese with necessary skills and capabilities for democratic self-government and nation-building. In this respect, we support the Secretary-General's proposal that the core tasks of UNTAET's successor mission should be funded by assessed contributions and supplemented by bilateral or multilateral arrangements.

We cannot stress enough that a premature withdrawal of UNTAET, especially the peacekeeping force, would undermine the remarkable contributions and substantial investments of the international community in East Timor. Thailand thus believes that only a clear exit strategy with a solid development framework conducive to East Timor's self-sustenance would prevent the disintegration of the progress achieved to date.

From our regional perspective, we recognize that only a strong and stable East Timor will contribute to the political and economic viability of the region. We in the region are doing all we can within our limited resources and capabilities to support the efforts of the United Nations and the international community in East Timor. It will take considerable time for East Timor to be a viable State with effective institutions of administration. Thus it is pivotal that the international community support a successor mission to UNTAET in East Timor for as long as necessary, at least until it has reached a certain level of sustainable development. Thailand, for its part, has offered to assist in the areas of agricultural, public health and technical expertise.

Thailand's support for the establishment of peace and stability in East Timor, in our continuous contribution of military and civilian police personnel since UNTAET's inception two years ago, has been acknowledged by the international community. Our troops are not only engaged in safeguarding the territory, but are also playing a significant role in the rehabilitation of East Timorese through civil-military activities. A number of subsistence projects and non-military training, particularly in agriculture, have been initiated with the aim of fostering capacity-building for the population at the grass-roots level.

The Royal Thai Government, despite its limited resources, intends to continue this dual role, and is prepared to maintain one battalion of troops in UNTAET's successor mission. We believe our contribution will play a part and make it possible for East Timor to become self-sufficient and thus ensure a peaceful future for its people.

The President: The next speaker on my list is the representative of the Philippines. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Manalo (Philippines): We join others in congratulating you, Mr. Minister, on your country's presidency of the Security Council for this month. The presidency of the Council under the Irish delegation has provided strong and enlightened leadership during these critical times.

We also thank the Secretary-General, for his latest report on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), and Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and Mr. Mari Alkatiri, Chief Minister and head of the Second Transitional Government of East Timor, for their very important statements this morning. We also wish to thank the representatives of the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for their briefings.

There is great excitement and anticipation concerning the future of East Timor. Much has been

accomplished since we embarked over two years ago to support East Timor's independence and the formation of a viable and self-sustaining sovereign country. Indeed, the Philippine delegation associates itself with those who believe that the first real attempt by the United Nations at nation-building is on the verge of becoming a true success story.

The previous two months have demonstrated definitive and concrete steps towards the goal of independence for East Timor at the earliest possible time. These include the election of a Constituent Assembly, held on 30 August; the 90-day process to draft the country's Constitution, which began in earnest after the election; the formation of an all-East Timorese Council of Ministers; and, lastly, just a few days ago, the inauguration of an East Timor Defence Force.

The contribution of those involved in this process deserves our thanks and recognition. But no one deserves more credit than the East Timorese themselves for their courage and determination in the face of tremendous challenges.

It is in this spirit that my delegation urges the Security Council to ensure that the gains we have achieved thus far, and intend to achieve in the future, shall be preserved and promoted by a well-conceived, credible and adequate post-independence United Nations presence in East Timor. While attaining independence is no mean feat, it cannot be the final chapter of the United Nations exit strategy for East Timor. The commitment of the United Nations to East Timor over the past two years or so set the stage for East Timorese independence. However, the East Timorese deserve our continued support.

The challenges ahead for East Timor remain daunting, as the country strives to achieve stability and development through the establishment of sustainable democratic institutions and economic structures.

As stated in the report of the Secretary-General, the security situation in East Timor is also of deep concern. Therefore, until the envisaged East Timor Defence Force becomes fully functional, the United Nations should ensure that a robust United Nations military presence remains in the country.

The Philippine delegation believes that the gains the East Timorese people have achieved so far should not be imperilled by a precipitate withdrawal of adequate international support and of an adequate international presence in the country.

The Philippines supports the recommendations of the Secretary-General on the establishment of the United Nations successor mission. We agree with his assessment that the primary focus of the successor mission will be to ensure the security of East Timor and the viability, stability and sustainability of its government structures, allowing for the completion of the mandate entrusted to UNTAET. Bearing this in mind, we believe the recommendations of the Secretary-General present a credible and balanced approach for helping East Timor establish effective institutions and an effective administrative capacity. We urge the Security Council to adopt these recommendations and establish the successor mission in East Timor with the appropriate number of military, police and civilian personnel until such time as the situation there has become stable and self-sustaining. At the same time, we look forward to receiving the Secretary-General's recommendations on the financial implications and the necessary financial requirements for the successor mission to UNTAET. In this regard, it is important that the successor mission receives assured and assessed funding to ensure that its activities can be sustained.

Finally, the Philippines will continue to support United Nations efforts during the critical post-independence period of East Timor.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Fiji. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Naidu (Fiji): May we commend you personally, Mr. Minister, for your presence here and your office for coordinating this open discussion on East Timor under your presidency of the Security Council. This topic is of great significance not only for my country, but also for the integrity of the United Nations.

Before I proceed further, my delegation wishes to commend Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for his continued contribution to the people of East Timor. We also welcome Chief Minister Mari Alkatiri among us today.

As the Council knows, Fiji makes a modest contribution to the operation, with 194 military personnel maintaining peacekeeping duties along the East Timor border — and I am pleased to say that our

troops serve with Irish troops as well as with New Zealand troops. Our intervention today is therefore based on our own observations in the field and on the report of the Secretary-General.

East Timor is truly a success story for the United Nations, being the shortest peacekeeping engagement to have substantially achieved its mandate. Contrast that with the more protracted operations which have continued for years, but for which a peaceful resolution has remained elusive.

The Secretary-General's latest report, on developments in East Timor over the past four months, is very promising and provides a realistic road map for ultimately achieving independence. Implicit in that report is the continuing need for peacekeeping.

The successful outcome of the August elections is encouraging. We hail in particular the fact that women occupy 28 per cent of the Constituent Assembly, which positively reflects upon the results of the women, peace and security strategy of Security Council resolution 1325 (2000). The result is a significant step forward in East Timor's nation-building, in coming out of a conflict situation and along the difficult path of transition to political independence.

We would be pleased to see consensus reached on the issue of maintaining a troop presence in East Timor for a number of reasons. Most importantly, the new-found peace in East Timor has yet to consolidate. It will most likely flounder in a withdrawal that lacks a strategy — more so as there are still outstanding issues under negotiation between the parties, including law enforcement, capacity-building of the police and security forces and developing the basic infrastructure that is vital for full autonomy.

Although declining, the continuing militia activities pose some security and human rights concerns that must be addressed for the protection and safety of the population, both local and international. There is a need, therefore, for the continued presence of peacekeepers. Besides, much work remains to be accomplished in facilitating the return of thousands of refugees who are still in the Indonesian territories. This will also safeguard our credibility in the long term and make the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) an efficient and strategic operation.

Much irreparable loss and waste befell East Timor prior to the peacekeeping engagement. United Nations resources have now been channelled to this democratization and peace-building exercise in its two years of operation. We reiterate that a premature withdrawal would expose East Timor to likely violence and armed conflict. This situation would undo the progress made and squander the substantial investment of the international community; and it is therefore to be avoided at all costs.

After going through such trauma, UNTAET has given the people of East Timor a feeling of security and hope in building new lives with some sense of purpose, hope for the future, enabling them to invest now for the benefit of generations to come. The least that the United Nations can do under the prevailing circumstances, having come thus far, is to provide them security and confidence with the presence of peacekeepers until the new Government has developed the capacity to fend for itself.

Beyond this issue, the Secretary-General's assessment of the essential build-up work on the ground is well appreciated by my delegation. It also recognizes that a peaceful and composed environment is critical for the anticipated framework to succeed, which we all understand will happen only through peace-building and peacekeeping. We agree that the downsizing and phasing out of the peacekeeping force need to be based on the development of infrastructure and institutions. In this regard, we endorse the Secretary-General's entire set of recommendations for the successor mission and its core functions to be supplanted by the fledgling East Timor Government two years following independence.

Mr. Fonseca (Brazil): It is a great honour to see you, Mr. President, presiding over the Security Council. This is a clear sign of the commitment of Ireland to the cause of peace and security in the world. Allow me to pay tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Sergio Vieira de Mello, whose hard work and wisdom in preparing East Timor for independence deserves the praise of the whole international community. I would like to thank him for his comprehensive briefing, as well as to echo his words this morning concerning the need to ensure an exit with strategy in East Timor so as to avoid a premature and destabilizing withdrawal.

Brazil welcomes the presence among us of Chief Minister Mari Alkatiri, the first elected East Timorese official to address this Council.

The work of Sergio Vieira de Mello and his team has been made easier thanks to the vision of leaders such as Mari Alkatiri, Xanana Gusmão and José Ramos-Horta. But, above all, the progress achieved so far would not have been possible without the active involvement of the heroic East Timorese people, whose resolve to achieve self-determination we have all learned to admire. They have given us lessons in democracy and tolerance.

Let me also thank the representatives of the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme for their important statements.

It is appropriate to recall once more resolution 1338 (2001) of 31 January 2001, by which the Council stressed the need for a substantial international presence in East Timor after independence. Indeed, we agree with a number of delegations that have highlighted the Secretary-General's view regarding the essential requirement in East Timor, which is to ensure that the enormous sacrifices of the East Timorese, the investments of the international community and the cooperation of the parties to bring about a successful transition are not squandered for lack of international support for the new State.

We must ensure a smooth transition to independence, one that preserves stability, security as well as continuity in the Public Administration. For that to happen, we cannot rely solely on voluntary contributions. It is necessary to secure a predictable source of funding, as rightly pointed out by the Secretary-General. I am particularly pleased to note that the consultations of the Security Council have led to the text of a draft presidential statement that does not shy away from endorsing the recommendations put forward by the Secretary-General in the report under consideration.

We have witnessed important progress in the implementation of UNTAET's mandate over the last six months. The election for the Constituent Assembly was a huge success that bodes well for the future of party politics and democracy in East Timor. The Constituent Assembly has begun its deliberations and the all-East Timorese Council of Ministers has been sworn in. Strides have been made in the Timorization of the Public Administration.

All these positive aspects notwithstanding, it is clear that there remain important deficiencies that must be addressed with the continued support of the international community. The security situation is now stable, but it is advisable to remain vigilant regarding potential threats, especially in light of reports of intimidation and disinformation campaigns in refugee camps located in West Timor. Regarding the refugees, it is good news that there has been an increase in the number of repatriations. This is also a sign that the efforts of Xanana Gusmão with a view to healing the wounds of past animosity are starting to bear fruit.

We look forward to the signing of a memorandum of understanding between the United Nations and Indonesia concerning security arrangements in order to allow international agencies, including the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to return to West Timor. Brazil appreciates the efforts of the new Indonesian Government to solve pending issues and to build strong bilateral ties with East Timor based on friendship and mutual respect.

Another critical area for the future of East Timor is the strengthening of the rule of law. This is a precondition not only to realizing human rights, but also to providing a solid basis for the functioning of a sound economic system.

In the field of criminal justice, East Timor still faces a dearth of judges, prosecutors, lawyers, investigators, forensic experts and interpreters. We have taken note with appreciation of Mr. Vieira de Mello's remarks on the efforts of his office to address the problems facing the Serious Crimes Unit. It is also important to address other legal problems that might inhibit economic recovery and development, particularly the need for clear and stable legislation on property rights, as well as a commercial code.

As independence approaches and the downsizing of the mission in East Timor is carried out, an important source of hard currency will certainly start to dry up. In this context, it becomes even more important to continue to put in place income-generating projects to minimize the adverse impact of the decrease in United Nations personnel and expenditure. In addition, it is essential to keep the current level of public services after independence. The deterioration of such services, which include health and education, would hurt the most vulnerable and could constitute a blow to public confidence in the future State.

The independence of East Timor should not be seen as the only objective of our efforts. It is for sure a fundamental step, a precondition for a better life for all

East Timorese, but it should not be an excuse for precipitous withdrawal. It must be an opportunity to display a real commitment to a stable and democratic East Timor. The Security Council should act with determination to guarantee the stability of the transition through a strong successor mission, as proposed by the Secretary-General, and the international community as a whole must continue to provide generous support for the rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of East Timor.

The international community has undertaken the commitment to help East Timor to build a solid democracy. If we want to do justice to the sacrifice of the East Timorese people, we must go beyond the mere rhetoric of support. It is true that a mission with a mandate as broad as UNTAET's requires a huge investment, but anyone who is familiar with the complexity of building democracy and helping a people to stand on its own knows that such goods do not come cheap.

Now it is time to protect the huge investment we have made. We cannot afford to put at risk the progress achieved. We hope that the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations will continue to attach high priority to East Timor. This will require matching our words of support with meaningful decisions and actions.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Cambodia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ouch (Cambodia): I would like to thank you, Sir, for convening this open meeting, enabling us to express our opinion in connection with the Council's consideration of the East Timor issue. My thanks go as well to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello; to Mr. Mari Alkatiri, Chief Minister of the Second Transitional Government of East Timor; and to the representatives of the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme for their comprehensive briefings.

I would also express my sincere thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General for his detailed and comprehensive report on East Timor, in document S/2001/983 of 18 October 2001.

Since the open debate of the Security Council on the situation in East Timor in July, remarkable progress has been made as regards the three crucial steps, as mentioned in the report, towards the accession to independence of East Timor. On behalf of my delegation, I would like to take this opportunity to express our high appreciation to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his competent leadership and the United Nations staff for their dedication in accelerating the process of Timorization.

Mr. Vieira de Mello made his mark during the peacekeeping operations of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, in which he successfully led the repatriation of more than 360,000 refugees into Cambodia, thus enabling them to enjoy national reconciliation and integration and to participate in the elections of May 1993. Today, these former refugees have been fully integrated into Cambodian society and enjoy — together with their brothers and sisters who stayed in Cambodia during the forcible isolation of the country in the 1980s — the return to peace and stability and the beginning of sustainable development. As a country that experienced war and conflict for many decades before stability returned in 1998, Cambodia expresses its appreciation to the people of East Timor, who are now moving forwarded speedily to draft their own Constitution, which is a giant step towards independence.

Although the process of Timorization seem to be going smoothly, I would like to stress that several conditions must be met to ensure a stable and prosperous independent East Timor. In particular, good relations with Indonesia are key to the future survival of East Timor, as the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) cannot stay on permanently. The new Government of Indonesia, under the presidency of Megawati Soekarnoputri, is democratic and open to reform, and she has demonstrated its determination to solve the Timor problem as soon as possible. In this connection, I believe that the meeting on 12 September this year in Jakarta between the President of Indonesia and the East Timorese delegation made a significant step forward in strengthening neighbourly relations and good cooperation between the two countries.

In view of its tragic past and its recent achievements in bringing about peace and stability, Cambodia's unique experience is an important case study for East Timor's future. A post-conflict country like Cambodia or East Timor could be regarded as a

sick person who needs to be treated with drugs, and sometimes with surgery. In order to prevent an eventual relapse, regular exercise and a lifestyle conducive to good health are essential for building up resistance to illness. This means that with the granting of independence to East Timor, the international community should support capacity-building, rehabilitation, reconstruction of the infrastructure and reconciliation. Above all, economic and social development should be given priority, so that stability and peace prevail in the country.

In order for East Timor to achieve its objectives, we strongly need to maintain, and expand into a new era of, partnership with the international community, which has provided extremely valuable support, both financial and technical. During the UNTAET period, East Timor has been fortunate in having the entire United Nations family and international financial institutions, including the World Bank, to help it in achieving these goals. It is important for this partnership to continue on equal terms after East Timor's independence. In this connection, my delegation strongly supports the observations and recommendations made by the Secretary-General in his report.

East Timor should also be aware of the role of civil society, which can contribute a great deal towards the goals of post-conflict development and growth. An important component of civil society is the private sector. In the case of Cambodia, the country has placed much emphasis on attracting private investment and has instituted one of the most liberal foreign investment laws of the region. Private investment is coming mostly from neighbouring countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which are more intrepid in entering post-conflict countries like Cambodia and East Timor. We hope that we will soon be able to count East Timor in our midst as a new and vibrant member of ASEAN, which can significantly accelerate its economic and social development. I wish East Timor every success in its valiant efforts to build a new and modern country.

The President: The next speaker on my list is the representative of the Republic of Korea, whom I invite to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

Mr. Sun (Republic of Korea): Let me begin by thanking you, Mr. Minister, for presiding over this important open debate on East Timor. I would also like to express my appreciation to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello for his cogent briefings every few months. My special welcome goes to Mr. Mari Alkatiri, Chief Minister of the Second Transitional Government of East Timor.

It is encouraging to hear that the independence process has been carried out smoothly during this critical year for East Timor. The historic elections for the Constituent Assembly were conducted in a peaceful, free and fair manner. The new Council of Ministers, whose head is with us today, is managing governmental affairs on its own, under the guidance of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). We are also satisfied to note that each time we receive the Secretary-General's report more progress has been achieved in the fields of economic and social development.

When it comes to the refugee problem, which in our view is of the foremost importance among innumerable issues to be addressed in East Timor, it is highly encouraging to hear that refugee returns began to increase considerably after the August elections, and the largest number of returns per month was realized in October, as Mr. Vieira de Mello explained this morning. We are concerned, however, that a large number of refugees still remain in Indonesia.

Furthermore, the Secretary-General has assessed in his report that hard-line militias will continue to pose a potential threat to East Timor even after independence. This security threat will be one of the factors determining the size and duration of the future presence of peacekeeping forces. Therefore, we encourage all the related efforts between the United Nations and the Indonesian government, including the Memorandum of Understanding, which is currently being negotiated. We hope that this thorny issue will be thoroughly resolved as soon as possible.

The peacekeeping operation in East Timor was a truly daunting task for the United Nations when UNTAET was established just two years ago as a multifaceted and highly complex mission. We have come a long way and have achieved a great deal, making East Timor one of the greatest success stories in the history of United Nations peacekeeping operations. To ensure that this success is not fleeting and that our substantial investment is not squandered, we have already agreed on the need for a reduced but

substantial international presence in East Timor after independence.

Under these circumstances, restructuring the mission in East Timor is a very difficult task that requires delicacy and a sense of balance. Continuing increases in the whole peacekeeping budget and upcoming challenges to be tackled by the United Nations may be restrictive factors. From the point of view of management, it will not be easy to accurately judge the appropriate size of the mission, while everyone acknowledges the importance of an exit strategy during and after peacekeeping operations.

In this regard, my delegation appreciates the complicated and laborious work done by the Secretariat and UNTAET in consultation with the East Timorese people and other international actors. We are also highly appreciative of the close consultations maintained by the Secretariat with troop-contributing countries during the past months.

We fully support the proposed size and scope of the military, police and civilian components during the transition to the successor mission, in light of the justifications for each area, as detailed in the report. We also support the restructured form of the successor mission during the beginning phase of independence, as it will be essential to ensure the security and viability of the newly independent State.

Regarding the future downsizing of the post-UNTAET mission after independence, we note that the Secretary-General will continue to assess the situation, as stated in paragraph 61 of his report. We expect in that regard that at an appropriate time next year the Secretary-General will provide us with viable recommendations on the further downsizing of the mission, based on developments on the ground.

Now, we are eagerly looking forward to the establishment of a new State, although its official declaration will come some months later than initially expected. To ensure the long-term stability and sustainability of an independent East Timor, the continued support of other bilateral and multilateral actors is required. In that regard, we highly appreciate the efforts of the Indonesian Government in such areas as the political, military, humanitarian and human rights spheres, especially since the inauguration of President Megawati Soekarnoputri.

Hoping that the international community will render greater attention and cooperation to the fledgling State, let me conclude by expressing my Government's continued commitment to East Timor.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Malaysia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Hasmy (Malaysia): Allow me to commend you, Mr. Minister, for convening this important open meeting on the situation in East Timor. We are pleased to see you presiding over the meeting. I should also like to thank the Secretary-General for his report (S/2001/983) and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his extremely useful briefing. We are also pleased to see the Chief Minister of the Second Transitional Government of East Timor, Mr. Mari Alkatiri, in the Council today and were pleased to listen to his briefing. His views are most pertinent to the deliberations of the Council. We are grateful for the briefings given by the representatives of the World Bank and of the United Nations Development Programme.

Like other countries in the region, Malaysia warmly applauded the manner in which the people of East Timor conducted themselves in the Constituent Assembly elections on 30 August 2001 and their full acceptance of the outcome. We welcomed the outcome of the elections and the formation of the 88-member Constituent Assembly. We also welcomed the appointment of Mr. Mari Alkatiri as the first Chief Minister of East Timor and the appointment of the members of his Cabinet. We are particularly pleased to see that a rather high proportion — some 20 per cent — of the Cabinet is made up of women ministers. That is indeed an impressive record for any country. We hope it will be maintained, or even improved, in the post-independence Cabinet as an exemplary model for all countries. We look forward to early and, it is hoped, equally impressive appointments in respect of the remaining two vacant portfolios.

The United Nations too has come a long way since 30 August 1999. The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) deserves the plaudits of the international community for the way the elections were planned, organized and conducted. East Timor is now entering the last stage of the process of transition towards independence. Hence the importance

of the current report that is being considered by the Council. The decisions that the Council will make on the basis of the report will to a large extent determine the kind of independent nation that emerges in East Timor.

As described by the Secretary-General in his message to the people of East Timor on the first anniversary of the popular consultation, the involvement of the United Nations with the East Timor independence process was one of the greatest challenges and responsibilities ever entrusted to the Organization. Having invested heavily in East Timor, it is only natural for the United Nations to wish to ensure that its investment will not be squandered, as the Secretary-General put it. For that purpose, it is essential to ensure that an independent East Timor will be a viable member of the community of nations.

In that regard, the friends of East Timor would wish to ensure that, following independence, the United Nations does not leave East Timor prematurely or in a precipitous fashion. We are assured, and we are gratified, that that will not be the case and that there will be a substantial United Nations presence in the country. The continued presence of the United Nations beyond the completion of the political transition is important to ensure the smooth implementation of the arduous process of nation-building. For that purpose, it is essential for the international community to continue to support UNTAET through adequate and assured funding by the United Nations so that progress achieved so far will be sustained and further strengthened. In that regard, Malaysia looks forward to Council approval of the Secretary-General's recommendations contained in section IV of his report.

The envisaged integrated successor mission to UNTAET, to be developed in consultation with the people of East Timor, would enable the United Nations to complete the mandate of Council resolution 1272 (1999). This would provide the institutions that are being built in East Timor, especially the civil service, with sufficient time to be further consolidated and strengthened. This intervening period is essential for the East Timorese people to acquire the necessary skills and experience, especially in the core functions in which local expertise is lacking, to ensure a functioning and effective governmental machinery in the post-United-Nations period. The international community should be pleased with the Timorization process that is taking place under UNTAET, which demonstrates the eagerness and determination of the people of East Timor to assume responsibility for their affairs and their preparedness to take charge of their own destiny. The action of the Council today and in the future should reflect the desires of the people of East Timor and the reality on the ground, and should take into account the view of the Secretary-General that operational responsibilities must be devolved to the East Timorese authorities as soon as that is feasible.

The process of nation-building and reconciliation is a highly complex and sensitive matter. This is particularly true for East Timor in the context of its traumatic past. As a country that has stressed the importance of reconciliation among the people of East Timor as an indispensable ingredient of peace and stability, we welcome most warmly the establishment of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation. We particularly welcome the fact that the Commission will seek to establish the truth about all relevant events that occurred in East Timor as far back as 25 April 1974. That decision is a clear demonstration of the non-selective approach that will guide the work of the Commission; it will go a long way in the reconciliation process. We hope that the even-handed approach of the Commission will contribute constructively to the promotion of tolerance, unity and harmony among the people of East Timor so that they will be able, at long last, to put history behind them, look forward to the future and, together, forge a strong, cohesive and united nation. We believe that the return of refugees, in particular the return of members of pro-integration groups and separated children, is an important element in the nation-building process.

At the same time, the formation of a sustainable democratic State will require a higher level of maturity by the people of East Timor than they have shown so far during the election process. The sophistication and wisdom with which they handle difficult and sensitive issues will reflect the kind of nation that will evolve in East Timor in the post-independence period. Something that will put the East Timorese leaders to the test in that regard is the manner in which the issue of the rights of minority populations, including the minority Muslim population, is handled by the Constituent Assembly.

On the issue of East Timor's economy, the Secretary-General has highlighted in his report the heavy reliance of that economy on external factors. The dramatic decrease in international personnel and

expertise, and the possible decrease in resources, at least in the initial period, will have to be appropriately factored into the planning for the post-independence period. Particular attention should be paid to the building up of expertise in those areas where local expertise is most lacking, especially in the financial sector, as highlighted by the Secretary-General. Since this is a long-term issue, this question will have to be seriously addressed by both UNTAET and the United Nations successor mission.

Malaysia welcomes the decision of the Constituent Assembly to recommend to UNTAET the date of 20 May 2002 for the handing over of sovereignty to the people of East Timor. Of course, this is a matter for the Council to decide in consultation with the people of East Timor. As a regional neighbour, Malaysia will play its part in assisting the people of East Timor to prepare for nationhood, within its capacity to do so. In the security area, Malaysia has seconded two senior military personnel to the East Timor Defence Force. In the area of diplomacy, a senior official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has also been made available, under UNDP's sponsorship, as an adviser to the newly established Department of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of East Timor.

Training has also been given in various areas of human resources development, including archiving, fire-fighting, policing and diplomacy, to 74 East Timorese, through the Malaysian Technical Cooperation Programme. Currently, under the same Programme, 11 East Timorese are undergoing training courses in nursing and archiving in Malaysia. In addition, we have contributed $60,000 for the reconstruction of the Bacau mosque.

Additional areas of assistance and cooperation between Malaysia and East Timor are also being explored. To expedite this process, a Malaysian liaison office was established in Dili in April 2001. Clearly, in the post-independence period, the people of East Timor will face many challenges of nation-building, in which their many friends in the region and beyond can play a constructive role.

In conclusion, Malaysia believes that the invaluable experience gained by UNTAET in East Timor should be properly documented, and valuable lessons drawn from it as a model of a successful peacekeeping mission. In our view, one of the most important lessons to be drawn is the need for the active involvement of the countries in the region, as is the case with UNTAET. The importance of regional involvement is premised on the following considerations: knowledge of the country; shared cultural values, customs and language; and an abiding interest in ensuring regional stability. The success of UNTAET can be attributed to, inter alia, these factors, and I am sure that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General would be among the first to acknowledge that.

It is hoped that the United Nations successor mission will be able to strengthen the regional dimension, perhaps in a more pronounced way, as East Timor begins to be more and more integrated into the region. In this regard, we warmly welcome the cordial and constructive contacts between the leaders of East Timor and its immediate and important neighbour, Indonesia, which augur well for the regional integration process.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Thayeb (Indonesia): My delegation deems it a distinct pleasure to see you, Sir, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland, presiding over today's deliberations of the Security Council. At the same time, I should like to say how pleased we are to have the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, as well as Mr. Mari Alkatiri and his entourage, in our midst.

The significance of this meeting today is not lost on us: this is the first open debate of the Security Council on the situation in East Timor to be held since the historic elections for East Timor's Constituent Assembly, on 30 August this year, and the formation of the second interim government.

Indeed, we are bearing witness to the opening of a new chapter in East Timor's transition to independence. In this context, Indonesia, as a country that shares a border with East Timor, has consistently demonstrated, in word and in deed, its strong commitment to working with the international community in a spirit of consensus, amity and cooperation, to create an atmosphere conducive to the establishment of a free, democratic and prosperous East Timorese society. It is therefore imperative that all concerned parties not indulge in negative perceptions and divisive practices, which could hamper attainment

of the objectives we are all attempting to achieve for the people of East Timor. Within this context, there can be no better way of extending assistance and support to the people of East Timor than by working with them in partnership and focusing on the future development of the country and, indeed, the region as a whole. We believe that there is great potential in paving the way for such a mutually beneficial bilateral relationship.

The remarks that President Megawati Soekarnoputri made during her State address before the Indonesian parliament, on 16 August, the eve of the anniversary of Indonesia's independence day, reflected Indonesia's commitment. The President unequivocally stated,

> "We have disentangled the question of East Timor in 1999 and honestly respected the choice of our brothers and sisters in the region to have their own state".

The strengthening of bilateral relations between our two countries is viewed as a matter of priority in the realization of the vision of East Timor as a viable, peaceful and democratic country. Thus, my Government extended an invitation to the East Timorese leaders, including Mr. Xanana Gusmão, Mr. Mari Alkatiri and Mr. José Ramos-Horta, and to Mr. Vieira de Mello, who visited Indonesia on 12 October 2001. The cordial discussions at the meeting that resulted were a further step towards this new chapter of bilateral relations for Indonesia and East Timor.

As a result of an initiative by my Government, we are looking forward to holding a high-level bilateral meeting in the near future to work on ways to resolve outstanding issues and, at the same time, to establish a sound and solid basis for future relations. It is in that same spirit that regional partnerships should be forged to achieve those noble objectives.

Yet another development in the relationship between Indonesia and the emerging independent State of East Timor was the conclusion of a bilateral agreement between the officials of the two sides last weekend in Atambua, concerning the demilitarization of their respective borders, thereby facilitating free and open visits by the Indonesian and East Timorese peoples. We believe that this will entail the withdrawal of foreign troops currently deployed at the borders as part of the United Nations peacekeeping force.

We are fully cognizant of the undeniable reality that political independence is closely linked with the promotion of sustainable development. Bearing this in mind, the international community should become truly engaged in this process to ensure that the people of a nascent nation can reap the benefits of development by enjoying a higher standard of living. This can be realized only through the sustained assistance of the international community, through forging various forms of cooperation.

The role of the United Nations on the eve of East Timor's independence must be viewed not only within the framework of the larger picture of assisting the East Timorese as they move towards peace, security and sustainable development, but also within the context of resolving the outstanding issues. The useful role of the Organization notwithstanding, it will ultimately be the East Timorese people themselves who should decide their own future.

As far as Indonesia is concerned, it has left no stone unturned in fulfilling its commitments. This has included working with the relevant international humanitarian agencies to repatriate refugees and amending the law to expand the jurisdiction of the ad hoc human rights tribunal, as well as other relevant issues, such as pensions, education and security at borders.

Especially on the issue of pensions, members of the Council will no doubt be aware of the Indonesian Government's long-standing readiness to disburse payments to pensioners who are former Indonesian civil servants, military and police from East Timor during the transition period. Technical arrangements for the disbursement have been agreed between Indonesia and the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), and their implementation awaits follow-up from UNTAET. In addition, in a major policy development, my Government has decided to contribute to a special fund established to provide payments in lieu of Indonesian Government pensions to eligible former civil servants, military personnel, police and pensioners after independence. This special fund is one of the main components of the consolidated joint Government of Indonesia/United Nations appeal and global plan for the handling of the East Timorese refugees in Indonesia.

Although the recommendations of the Office of the United Nations Security Coordinator assessment team failed to reflect the prevailing realities on the ground, my Government is continuing negotiations with the Office of the Resident Coordinator of the United Nations system's operational activities for development in Indonesia — in its capacity as the designated official for security in Indonesia for all United Nations agencies — on technical arrangements in Jakarta as a basis for the return of United Nations agencies to East Nusa Tenggara. It is hoped that the refugees can return at the earliest possible time, particularly as we owe it to them as a people to uphold their human rights and dignity. We urge the international community to provide encouragement and support to the ongoing process of organized and ad hoc repatriation of refugees to East Timor.

No one organization can claim complete credit for a humanitarian undertaking of this magnitude; and if credit is to be rightly accorded, it should go to the tireless efforts of those individuals on the ground, including the officials of the provincial Government of East Nusa Tenggara and the Regional Military Commander, for doing their utmost to bring closure to the refugee issue, since this is a priority of my Government. We were therefore pleased at the recent repatriation of 600 refugees on 27 October 2001, which was witnessed by Indonesian Government officials, East Timorese leaders and the representatives of UNTAET. The spirit of harmony and amity was evident in the remarks of Mr. Ramos-Horta, who upon welcoming them said, "This is your country. The door is open to all of you who two years ago took refuge from East Timor and are now willing to return"; while the Indonesian Coordinating Minister for People's Welfare, Mr. Yusuf Kalla, stated, "We wish that all refugees who return home will have better lives and continue to keep good relations as our brothers and sisters."

In conclusion, as East Timor grows into a full-fledged sovereign and independent nation, the international community has a solemn responsibility to support measures including building bridges of understanding towards achieving reconciliation, strengthening the foundations of government based on democratic and transparent practices, and promoting capacity-building programmes. No doubt the road that lies ahead abounds with challenges and obstacles. But we must be vigilant and ensure that our assistance does not overshadow the true efforts of the East Timorese to fulfil their legitimate needs and the goals that they have set for themselves as they realize their full potential as a people to carry out this nation-building process. It is to this end that we should extend our unstinting support.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Brunei Darussalam. I invite him to take a seat at the Council Table and to make his statement.

Mr. Serbini (Brunei Darussalam): At the outset, we would like to congratulate you, Mr. Minister, for providing leadership to this meeting, and we thank the Security Council for allowing us to participate in the discussion of an issue that concerns us in the region. We would like to congratulate Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and his team for their commendable work. The Government of Brunei Darussalam would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his excellent report on the work of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). We are very happy to see the participation of Chief Minister Mari Alkatiri in these discussions, and Brunei Darussalam looks forward to welcoming East Timor as a member of the international community in May of next year.

Brunei Darussalam supports the role of UNTAET and is pleased with the way UNTAET has discharged its mandate. We are seeing continued significant progress after the election in East Timor. The presence of UNTAET has greatly contributed to the continuous peace and stability in the country. This is highlighted in the Secretary-General's report.

Having said that, we feel that we still have a long way to go to make East Timor a viable State. Its basic requirements were made clear in Security Council resolution 1272 (1999) and subsequent related Council resolutions, as well as in the Secretary-General's current report. Within this context, we fully support the interventions by those who spoke before us calling for a substantial international presence in East Timor after independence.

As highlighted in the report, there are still a few areas in which East Timor needs assistance. In view of this, we feel that the continued presence of the United Nations is essential. We also note that support is still needed in building the East Timorese capacity for self-government, despite the great improvement in this area. Other areas in public administration, particularly civil

administration, continue to rely heavily on services provided by UNTAET. We feel that the United Nations should continue its support in this area, which also includes development and training in the area of information and communication technology.

We also note the shortcomings facing the newly formed justice system. It will be supported by the nascent East Timor Police Service and East Timor Defence Force, but maintaining law and order in East Timor would not be easy.

In conclusion, I would like to re-emphasize the importance of building on the progress that we have achieved so far and, hence, of the continued international presence in East Timor. This is to ensure the country's successful transition into the international community. At the same time, we have to ensure continued consultation and cooperation with the people of East Timor in order to carry out UNTAET's mandate in resolution 1272 (1999).

The President: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Papua New Guinea. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

Mr. Donigi (Papua New Guinea): First, I should like to pay tribute to the presidency of Ireland for this month and to you, Mr. Minister, for travelling to preside over this special and public session of the Security Council on the question of East Timor.

I should like also to welcome to this special meeting Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Transitional Administrator of East Timor, and Mr. Mari Alkatiri, Chief Minister of East Timor. I appreciated the briefings they gave this morning, which were very helpful. I appreciated also the briefings by the representative of the World Bank and the representative of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Papua New Guinea welcomes the election of the Constituent Assembly as well as the efforts being made to draw up a new Constitution and the establishment of new constitutional institutions. For East Timor to be a democratic country, it must have, among other things, freedom of speech coupled with a free press and media institutions. We note the admission of an East Timor journalist to membership of the Pacific Islands News Association at a recent Association meeting, held in Madang, Papua New Guinea, about two weeks ago.

Papua New Guinea continues to do what it can to help in the process of establishing good governance institutions in East Timor. Recently, Papua New Guinea welcomed a visit by representatives of East Timor to study our Ombudsman Commission facilities and to obtain information from our Attorney General's department. That visit was facilitated by UNDP.

We note that one of the constitutional law consultants to East Timor was also a consultant to Papua New Guinea's Constituent Assembly some 28 years ago.

We believe that we have a living Constitution, and our Government institutions are not afraid to defend their role and independence, as guaranteed by the Constitution. We have also not been afraid of changing our Constitution to suit particular political developments or to meet changing value systems in our country. As a developing country, we are limited as to the type of assistance we can offer to East Timor, but that does not mean that we cannot share our development experiences with East Timor. We remain prepared to continue to share with East Timor our own particular experiences. Admittedly, not all of them have been good, but we hope that East Timor will be able to learn from them and to avoid the pitfalls that we have encountered.

Papua New Guinea believes that any transfer of the funding of United Nations activities in East Timor to a special trust account for East Timor based on voluntary contributions is tantamount to abandoning the Territory. We believe that, at this special time, when terrorism is uppermost in our minds, it is imperative that the citizens of East Timor be guaranteed the right to live in peace within secure borders. That guarantee can be provided only by maintaining the presence of United Nations peacekeepers in that Territory.

Papua New Guinea therefore supports the view that the United Nations should not unnecessarily scale down its contribution to the development efforts of the Government of East Timor following independence next year. In this regard, we thank the Secretary-General for his report contained in document S/2001/983.

There is no better comparison here than that of an infant who is learning to walk. East Timor is on the verge of graduating from being an infant, but the international community must continue to walk beside it for some years, until the country has reached full

maturity. It has held its elections for the constituent Assembly. We are grateful that the elections were peaceful and were conducted in a democratic and transparent manner. East Timor still requires expertise to run the Government as well as to provide advice when needed. It requires expertise in the areas of law and order, health, education, agriculture and infrastructure development, among many others. Simply put, Papua New Guinea is not yet fully satisfied that the institutions of Government in East Timor have been fully developed and staffed with appropriate personnel.

This fact is reflected in the report of the Secretary-General, in which he states that:

> "Much remains to be done to transform the bureaucracy into a viable, sustainable national administration run by East Timorese civil servants, with strong policy, regulatory and operational frameworks". *(S/2001/983, para. 11)*

He also rightly pointed out that the lowering of the Government's service standards could be a source of likely friction in future.

Papua New Guinea therefore supports the recommendations contained in section IV of the Secretary-General's report. We also agree with his statement in paragraph 85 of the report that any plans for a successor mission to UNTAET in East Timor must contain "the core tasks that are crucial to protecting the progress made to date".

We believe that the United Nations must continue to address integral human development issues based on a solid and assured foundation of human security. In order to achieve this, it will be essential for the international community to continue to fund all core tasks of a successor mission to UNTAET. In our view, therefore, it would be premature for the United Nations to leave the country to its own devices after the granting of independence next year.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of New Zealand. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MacKay (New Zealand): New Zealand welcomes the opportunity to address the Council as it considers the Secretary-General's proposals and recommendations for a post-independence United Nations presence in East Timor. I would like to compliment you, Sir, on Ireland's presiding over the Council and to express our strong appreciation for the Secretary-General's report on East Timor, introduced this morning.

There could be no more compelling arguments for why the United Nations must finish the job it has started than those put forward by Mr. Alkatiri on behalf of the people of East Timor, the world's newest democracy. Great progress has been made during the past two years to help East Timor prepare for statehood, with the date for independence now set for 20 May next year. These are indeed impressive achievements, and we should celebrate them as a reflection of the commitment and determination of the people of East Timor working in partnership with the United Nations community. New Zealand, for its part, congratulates the people of East Timor and those who have assisted their progress.

New Zealand is in excellent company in voicing our strong support for an ongoing United Nations role in East Timor after independence. It is a particular pleasure to be able to speak in support of Mr. Alkatiri and the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello. There have been many eloquent presentations today, and I intend to speak plainly and briefly about New Zealand's position.

New Zealand clearly and unequivocally endorses the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and all of its recommendations.

We consider the recommendations for an UNTAET successor mission comprising military, police and civilian components as a logical and necessary next step in fulfilling the mandate agreed by the Security Council and detailed in resolution 1272 (1999). We consider it essential that the core military, police and civilian components of the United Nations successor mission be funded from assessed peacekeeping contributions.

Establishment of an effective government administration, as mandated under resolution 1272 (1999), is as integral to the maintenance of East Timor's future security as the development of an effective military and police force. Assessed contributions funding from the peacekeeping budget, in our view, is not only necessary but is clearly justified. On the civilian side, the further contributions sought by the Secretary-General are minimal compared to the overall investment of the United Nations in East Timor, but are essential to securing that investment.

The scale of the downsizing proposed is significant, but it is appropriate and realistic. We would certainly caution against seeking to trim the numbers further or to speed up the timetable. The Secretary-General's rigorous but flexible approach provides for further adjustments on the basis of developments on the ground, and we support this.

New Zealand has contributed to the United Nations effort in East Timor since the preparations for the popular consultation in 1999, and we can verify first-hand the conclusions of the Secretary-General's report. It is a careful and measured assessment of need based on the advice and experiences of the East Timorese and those who have witnessed and contributed to progress made. We have spoken before of the need to provide assurance to the people of East Timor and to maintain necessary levels of support at this crucial time at which progress should be consolidated. These are critical points for us as a regional neighbour — and those other regional neighbours that have also spoken — and also as a troop contributor and Member State of the United Nations, as well as for the new nation of East Timor.

Funding the successor mission from assessed peacekeeping contributions will provide financial security for core functions identified by the Secretary-General in ongoing consultation with the Constituent Assembly, donors, the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme. It will also provide assurance to the people of East Timor and to the international community of the collective political will to complete the job mandated in 1999.

Two years ago, the Security Council set out a vision for assisting East Timor to become a secure and viable independent State. The Secretary-General's report confirms how far East Timor has come. His recommendations set out the road map by which the Security Council's vision and mandate will be fully and finally achieved. We urge the Council to endorse the Secretary-General's report and recommendations in unequivocal terms.

Today's debate provides an opportunity to reaffirm the United Nations strong commitment to international security and stability. The pursuit of these goals forms the core of the United Nations — its inception, its Charter and the obligations inherent in membership of this Organization. We encourage the Security Council to take this opportunity to celebrate the successes of UNTAET and provide a strong message about its commitment to East Timor.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Mozambique. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dos Santos (Mozambique): Allow me at the outset to welcome Chief Minister Mari Alkatiri of East Timor, and his delegation. I thank him for the comprehensive statement he delivered this morning.

We thank you, Mr. President, for your presence and for convening this open meeting to debate such an important issue and for affording us the opportunity to participate.

I wish to take this opportunity to once again express our profound appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for their relentless effort and dedication to ensure a smooth, historic transition in East Timor. The progress achieved in the implementation of the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) has paved the way for the crucial developments that will lead to the independence of East Timor.

The elections for the Constituent Assembly on 30 August 2001, the drafting of the first Constitution of East Timor and the formation of an all-East Timorese Council of Ministers are indeed irreversible steps towards the long-awaited independence of East Timor. The orderly conduct of and high turnout for the elections are a further testimony to the political maturity that the people of East Timor have demonstrated throughout their quest for self-determination and the establishment of their own State.

We would like to commend the Secretary-General's report on UNTAET for its clarity and comprehensiveness in planning for an international presence in East Timor after independence. UNTAET's mandate from the Security Council to establish a national civil administration, assist in the development of civil and social services and support capacity-building for self-government in East Timor is not yet complete. We therefore support the Secretary-General's recommendation for the establishment of a successor mission to UNTAET with the main task of ensuring security in East Timor and the viability and stability of its government structures as a step towards the

completion of the mandate entrusted to UNTAET by the Security Council.

The presence of the United Nations after independence in East Timor must be commensurate with the task before it. It is therefore imperative that all plans for the downsizing of UNTAET and its successor mission in East Timor in its military, police and civilian components take into account the prevailing security conditions and the needs of the new East Timorese administration. The main criterion that must guide a Security Council decision on downsizing or withdrawing the United Nations presence in East Timor or in any other peacekeeping operation is the successful completion of its mandate.

A crucial aspect of ensuring the success of the UNTAET mandate in East Timor is the availability of financial resources. The presence of the United Nations in East Timor after its independence must continue to be adequately funded from assessed contributions in order to ensure its sustainability. As the Secretary-General says in his report, voluntary or bilaterally funded arrangements are not reliable because "such resources may arrive late, or not at all, as donor priorities change and new demands arise". (*S/2001/983, para. 74*)

The people of East Timor have made many sacrifices in a clear demonstration of their commitment to a legitimate aspiration to an independent East Timor. The international community has also shown its continued commitment to the cause of East Timor.

The Security Council must now ensure that all these sacrifices and investments are not undermined. The Security Council and the international community as a whole must now act decisively and demonstrate that they will not abandon the people of East Timor at such a crucial juncture.

We also call on the international community to continue supporting East Timor after its independence as it builds its own sustainable system of governance. The provision of technical, financial and other forms of assistance will be crucial for East Timor to soon join the community of nations.

The international community must now make available the necessary resources for the timely completion of the UNTAET mandate and lay the foundations for a future independent State of East Timor. Resources from assessed contributions must be made available at adequate levels, and UNTAET and its successor mission must be allowed to use the resources in a more flexible manner as they prioritize and discharge the complex mandate in East Timor.

For its part, Mozambique will continue to make its modest contribution to UNTAET and to the people of East Timor. We look forward to celebrating on 20 May 2002 the independence of this sister nation.

In conclusion, I once again express our profound gratitude and appreciation to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and, through him, to the men and women of UNTAET for their commendable job in East Timor.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Mexico. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Navarrete (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): I wish to extend my delegation's thanks to you, Mr. Minister, for personally presiding over this open debate of the Security Council on the day that Ireland is ending its successful presidency of the Council for this month, during which your country has demonstrated its commitment to transparency in the work of this body.

Being, it seems, the last speaker in a long list of speakers, I shall be as brief as possible.

The events in East Timor in the last two years, and in particular those since the elections held on 30 August this year, attest to the positive effects that concerted action can have when the goal is the consolidation of peace. Mexico supports the concerted efforts of the United Nations with the representatives of the Transitional Government, headed by Mr. Mari Alkatiri, Chief Minister of the Second Transitional Government, whose presence at this debate we welcome.

My country shares the idea expressed in this debate by, among others, the representatives of the Philippines and Brazil, that no one deserves more recognition than the people of East Timor for their bravery and determination in the face of formidable challenges. We likewise express our gratitude for the constructive position assumed by the new Government of Indonesia, for we are convinced that political dialogue between the principal players has proved to be an essential element in the progress that has been made. We hope that the channels of communication

and cooperation between the authorities of Indonesia and East Timor will be strengthened.

The presence in the Chamber of Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, who has distinguished himself by his excellent work as Special Representative of the Secretary-General and head of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), reflects the importance the Organization has attached to the question of this emerging nation.

We express our support for the recommendations of the Secretary-General in his report for the period from 25 July to 15 October 2001, which is before the Council. We support in particular the recommendations regarding the successor mission and, as almost every participant in this debate has done, those concerning the period after independence. We believe that it is essential to maintain the United Nations presence in order to consolidate the progress made, as well as to be able to respond to the needs of the Timorese people and to be in a position to carry out a smooth and seamless transition in the post-independence phase. The real challenge will be to maintain the conditions necessary for lasting peace and the establishment of an environment conducive to East Timor's sustainable development. We think it necessary for the Security Council to continue to carry out a periodic review of the situation.

We support the plan to establish an integrated peacekeeping mission under the leadership of a special representative of the Secretary-General in order to guarantee the security of East Timor and the viability and stability of its governmental structures. The military, civilian and civilian police components will be crucial to a gradual assumption of responsibility by the authorities of East Timor within an overall framework of effective administration of the territory.

We call on the international community to support these efforts by making timely payment of their assessments to the Special Account for UNTAET. Those resources are necessary for UNTAET to be able to fulfil fully the mandate given to it by the Security Council in resolutions 1272 (1999) and 1338 (2001). In this context, the future participation of the international financial institutions, the funds and programmes of the United Nations and, of course, bilateral donors will be essential.

The President: I would now like again to give the floor to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello to respond to comments made and questions raised.

Mr. Vieira de Mello: Let me thank you, Mr. President, and all today's speakers, for the kind words addressed to my East Timorese colleagues, to the staff of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and to myself.

May I also express our gratitude — the gratitude of Timorese and internationals alike — for the strong support expressed by all the members and non-members who took the floor today for the set of recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report, particularly with regard to the post-UNTAET/post-independence phase, with a view to consolidating the achievements of the Transitional Administration. Your endorsement — hopefully through a presidential statement — of the need for the United Nations to remain fully committed through a predictable and dependable source of funding for the post-independence requirements of East Timor — which perhaps more than any other country will be the child of the United Nations and of this Council — will send a powerful, reassuring message to the people and to the Second Transitional Government, which has a huge challenge before it in the months ahead, as well as to the Constituent Assembly of East Timor.

We have taken note, with great care, of your advice and comments, which we shall keep very much in mind in the weeks and months to come. I also note with satisfaction that no specific questions or particular concerns were expressed to us in the course of this debate, which is indeed very encouraging.

We are extremely pleased that the Council is prepared to welcome the date of 20 May 2002 for the independence of East Timor. That will certainly further focus our minds and lead us to redouble our efforts in all the areas that were discussed here today in the run-up to independence.

The Secretary-General will of course submit to the Council a sixth-monthly report in January next year, prior to the expiration of UNTAET's current mandate on 31 January. It will contain, as several speakers wished, an elaboration of the post-independence United Nations structure, as well as of the precise needs of the independent Government of East Timor, which could only be presented in a fairly

preliminary fashion at this stage in the report before the Council.

Finally, may I thank the people and the Government of Ireland, yourself, Mr. Minister, and Permanent Representative Ryan and his colleagues, for your solidarity with the cause of East Timor and the role of the United Nations in that territory. Allow me, Minister Cowen, to express my particular thanks to you for crossing the Atlantic to preside over this meeting, and to attempt to do so in Gaelic, with apologies for my deficient pronunciation: *a Aire Gnóthaí Eachtracha*.

The President: I understand that Mr. Alkatiri would also like to take the opportunity to respond to the contributions he has listened to during this debate.

Mr. Alkatiri: I do not really want to respond; I just want to offer some conclusions.

We came to this meeting from very far with many preoccupations. The expectations of our people are increasingly great, and now we are faced with another type of expectation: the international community's expectations of us. But we think that the support we are receiving here will give us much more energy, creativity and, of course, strength to face all these challenges and expectations. Without the Council's support it will be very difficult for us to do it, but with this kind of sympathy and support surely the East Timorese people, their Government and the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor will really make possible the impossible, and we will do our best to have a democratic country, a stable country and a peaceful country in that region.

The President: I believe we have had an extremely interesting debate on East Timor today at an important moment in its transition to independence. I am particularly pleased that Special Representative Vieira de Mello and Mr. Alkatiri, as well as Ms. Borges and Mr. de Araújo, were here to hear in person the strong messages of support for the continued involvement of the United Nations in that process. As Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland, a country with close links with East Timor, I feel privileged to have presided over such a positive meeting at the culmination of weeks of discussions and to deliver the presidential statement in the next meeting.

May I say also how appreciative I am to hear the compliments and the kind words that were directed to Ireland, to our delegation here, to our Permanent Representative, Richard Ryan, and to his staff for the way they have presided over the Security Council proceedings during the course of this month. We, too, are very proud of them. They have excelled themselves and have kept to the finest traditions of our public service. We are very grateful for the outstanding work that they have done during this month and, indeed, throughout our membership of this body. We look forward to continuing with that work, working with our colleagues to deal with the issues of the day.

I am sure that we all appreciate the strong commitment of the Secretary-General to East Timor also, as has been continuously demonstrated, and the great support that there is for his report. We look forward to his ongoing personal involvement as a major factor in the success of this undertaking.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4404

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4404th meeting

Wednesday, 31 October 2001, 5.55 p.m.

New York

President	Mr. Cowen	(Ireland)
Members	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	China	Mr. Jiang Jiang
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Maiga
	Mauritius	Mr. Gokool
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Yap
	Tunisia	Mr. Mejdoub
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Davis
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation in East Timor

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (S/2001/983 and Corr.1).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-61364 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.55 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in East Timor

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (S/2001/983 and Corr.1)

The President: The Security Council will now continue its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council welcomes the Secretary-General's report of 18 October 2001 (S/2001/983).

"The Security Council expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General's Special Representative in East Timor and to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) for their efforts in developing detailed plans for the future United Nations presence in East Timor.

"The Security Council welcomes the political progress achieved to date towards establishing an independent East Timorese State and endorses the recommendation by the Constituent Assembly that independence be declared on 20 May 2002.

"The Security Council recalls resolutions 1272 (1999) of 25 October 1999 and 1338 (2001) of 31 January 2001 and other relevant resolutions. It agrees with the Secretary-General's assessment that premature withdrawal of the international presence could have a destabilizing effect in a number of crucial areas. It further agrees with the Secretary-General's assessment that the United Nations should remain engaged in East Timor to protect the major achievements so far realized by UNTAET, to build upon those achievements in cooperation with other actors, and to assist the East Timorese Government in ensuring security and stability.

"The Security Council takes note of the Secretary-General's observation that the mandate of UNTAET should be extended until independence and endorses his plans for adjusting the size and configuration of UNTAET in the months prior to independence.

"The Security Council endorses the Secretary-General's recommendations for a continued and appropriately reduced United Nations integrated mission in the post-independence period, and requests the Secretary-General to continue planning and preparation for this mission, in consultation with the East Timorese people, and to submit further and more detailed recommendations to the Council. The Council agrees that the successor mission would be headed by a Special Representative of the Secretary-General and comprise a military component, a civilian police component and a civilian component, including experts who would provide crucial assistance to the emergent East Timorese administration. The Council notes that a core number of civilian positions will be critical to the stability of the independent East Timorese Government and agrees that these limited positions will require assessed funding for a period of between six months and two years after independence. The Council agrees that the new mission should be based on the premise that operational responsibilities should be devolved to the East Timorese authorities as soon as this is feasible, and it supports a continuing process of assessment and downsizing over a period of two years, starting from independence. In this regard, the Council recognizes the essential role of the General Assembly in peace-building and expresses its intention to continue planning for peace-building in close cooperation with the General Assembly. The Council acknowledges the importance of a strong focus on justice and human rights in the successor mission and, where appropriate, in other assistance provided to East Timor.

"The Security Council agrees with the Secretary-General's assessment that it will be vital that the United Nations contribution is supplemented by multilateral and bilateral arrangements. The Council looks forward to receiving information on the financial

implications of the follow-on mission and a detailed assessment of shared responsibilities among the principal interacting players, i.e. the United Nations system, international financial institutions, regional mechanisms and national donors in their efforts to assist East Timor in its unprecedented transition to self-government."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2001/32.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.